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CSSR Ambassador on 2d Round of Vienna Talks

LD0505132689 Prague CTK in English 1231 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Vienna May 5 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak delegation is returning to the Vienna disarmament talks aware that "the first round showed political will of all participant states to realize the mandate agreed on at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security Cooperation in Europe, which was proved by the dynamic start of the talks," Ambassador Ladislav Balcar told CTK here today.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation said that the debates and proposals submitted in the first round of talks showed a number of points of contact. However, there are still many differences in views on the basic issues, e.g. the problem of tactical airforce, which NATO does not want to include in any agreement, the question of the creation of zones of confidence and security on the line of contact as envisaged in a proposal submitted by Czechoslovakia, and others.

As for the talks of the 35 CSCE signatories on measures to strengthen confidence and security, there also exists political will to reach progress in this sphere. The Warsaw Treaty seeks not only quantitative development of the results achieved in Stockholm but also adoption of qualitatively new measures that would include independent air and naval activity.

The Czechoslovak ambassador pointed out that the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers at their recent session in Berlin appealed to NATO to agree to calling independent talks on tactical nuclear missiles in Europe, believing that opening of such talks would be a marked impulse for further progress of the Vienna talks on conventional weapons. "It is obvious that practical measures in the sphere of both conventional arms and tactical nuclear arms reductions would complement and strengthen each other while the level of military confrontation will decrease. On the other hand it is obvious that modernization of tactical nuclear weapons as sought by some forces in NATO, the United States and Great Britain in particular, could complicate the Vienna talks," the Czechoslovak delegate said.

"After the follow-up CSCE meeting in Vienna, the process taking place throughout Europe is assuming a qualitatively new, higher level," the Czechoslovak ambassador stressed. That is why the results of our joint work will not be judged according to current approaches, either. They will be judged according to the more demanding criteria of a continent oriented toward building a common European home. This positive political climate is also favorably reflected in the course of our deliberations to date, as attested to by the fact that four proposals have already landed on our table. They contain certain concurrent or close elements, but naturally also diverging approaches. We are now entering a stage in which it is essential to create the best possible working structure for specifically assessing the individual elements of these, but naturally also other, proposals, L. Balcar stated.

In our view, it is necessary to concentrate primarily on those issues which we have failed to work out as broadly and profoundly as desirable in Stockholm. As for the so-called third generation of confidence-building and security measures, the development on our continent is oriented toward making these measures in particular the basis of a qualitatively better mechanism of confidence-building and security. It will undoubtedly represent an important connecting link with the process of conventional disarmament in Europe, L. Balcar said.

Balcar's 10 May Speech Cited

AU1205185189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 May 89 p 7

[CTK reporter dispatch: "L. Balcar's Speech at Vienna Negotiations; Third-'Generation' Measures"]

[Text] Vienna—Ladislav Balcar, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, spoke in the discussion at yesterday's [10 May] session of the Vienna negotiations of the 35 participating states of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security in Europe.

Hungarian Delegate Supports Western Proposal

LD1205211489 Budapest MTI in English 1939 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Vienna, May 12 (MTI)—Hungary holds all elements of the Western confidence-building proposal to be acceptable. All measures proposed could form a useful part of the extensive agreement which should be created in the course of the talks, said Ambassador David Meiszter, leader of the Hungarian delegation, at the May 12 plenary session of the confidence-building talks in progress in Vienna with the participation of 35 countries.

Following, the Hungarian diplomat analysing the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty states and the NATO countries, noted they envisage numerous similar measures, or ones very near to each other. He termed it promising that a considerable common basis exists already in the initial stage of the talks to work out further measures. Ambassador Meiszer stressed the importance of military openness in the strengthening of confidence between the states, and that it should extend to all elements of the armed forces. Referring to the unilateral armed forces reductions determined in the socialist countries, and the prospects of the agreement to be worked out at the conventional disarmament talks between the two blocs, Mr Meiszter took a stand to restrict the military exercises and other large-scale military activities.

Paper Censures SFRY on Kosovo Events, Albania
AU1105134389 Tirana ATA in English
0900 GMT 11 May 89

["The Political Problems Are Not Solved Through Chauvinist Passions"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article of the editorial board which says:

The events that occurred at the beginning of this Kosovo were tragic. [sentence as received] Dozens of Albanians were killed, among them children and women. Hundreds of others were imprisoned. Thousands of people were and are being persecuted. As far as the savageness and the police violence is concerned, it is unprecedented in Europe, at least these 30-40 recent years. The national oppression, chauvinism, and nationalist hysteria have not so openly displayed their savageness than in Yugoslavia.

The chauvinist terror in Kosovo, the article says further on, shook the international public opinion. The moving views showing how the police baton, tanks, and the military guaranteed the approval of the amendments to Serbia's constitution, covered the television screens of the whole world. Who saw the stoicism of the Stari Trg miners and was not shaken by it? Who saw and was not indignant when tear gas bombs were hurled over children, women and the youth, while the militiamen beat and caused bleeding to the peaceful demonstrators. Only those killed were seen by no one. They were not shown to the public. Even today it is not known how many are they 24, 124, or 224?

The international public opinion, including also many people within Serbia, condemned these acts. The world press wrote about them, many statements were made and the European Parliament too condemned them. And they did this not because they were not informed or because they were against the Serbians, neither because they are persuaded by Albania's propaganda as they in Belgrade say. They did this because the events developed so cruelly and the crime was so ugly that no one could bear in his counsciousness the weight of silence.

Serbia for the first time found itself facing the trial of the world opinion. The economic crisis discredited its self-administration system. The political crisis, especially the events in Kosovo, the way used to solve the national questions discredited the image Belgrade gave to itself, as a country where liberty, democracy, and equality of nations were to be adored, as a country that could set an example to all, especially to the nonaligned countries, as a model of wisdom, patience, of solving the conflicts through dialogue, democracy etc.

Instead of making a clear analysis of the situations created, of the objective causes that were created, of meditation about the policy followed, the Yugoslev leaders and especially the Serbian ones, closely sticked to those negative factors, responsible for the misfortunes the country is suffering. This made them defend an old and abortive policy and run counter to the reality and sound reason.

The reaction of the press, of the parliamentarians and democrats at home and abroad towards the events in Kosovo, aroused a great confusion and anxiety among the Belgrade leading circles. How is it possible to take aim at Serbia which is caressed by all and which has rendered so many services to world imperialism and capitalism?

In order to save what could be saved, to "convince" the world that it is being "too hasty" in its decisions, that the affairs in Kosovo were different, that it is disinformed, the diplomacy and the propaganda down to the Serbian ultrachauvinist clerics were mobilised.

But the theses built hastily and in confusion were both contradictory and stale. Speaking about Kosovo, it was said, for example, that the Albanians enjoy such rights as none else in the world, that those who oppose the constitutional changes are separatists, who allegedly threaten the "sovereignty and territorial integrity" of Serbia, that they are "terrorists, that it was they who organised the demonstrations and opened fire from the minarets and who even killed the demonstrators, that "armed uprising" took place in Kosovo etc. Who ever suspects such thesis is promptly considered as an enemy of Serbia.

All should believe what Belgrade claims. None should be worried about the arbitrary measures adopted in Kosovo, about the policy of violence and discrimination being exercised there. On the contrary, every one should approve them as a condition for a stable Serbia, everyone should give his backing for the "differentation" being made, for the psychological terror against the Albanians, for the replacement of the cadres with people loyal to Serbia.

But one cannot put a minaret into a sack. In reality, the constitutional changes hit hard at the Albanian nationality, its autonomy was reduced, it has no longer the same rights it once had as all the other constitutive subjects of the yugoslav federation. Now efforts are being made to nail down Kosovo and the Albanians, that make up the third nation in Serbia as for their size within the framework of Serbia, as subjected to it, excluding it from the Yugoslav domain as a separate nationality. While opposing the changes of Serbia's Constitution, the Albanians asked neither for secession nor did they tried to disrupt the constitutional and social order of the federal Yugoslavia. On the contrary, they opposed the injustice being made against them, an injustice which further nourishes and does not calm down the national enmities and disputes.

Endless meetings are being actually held in Kosovo, false evidence is being given, arrests, police pressures and trials, sensational findings and most unusual accusations are being made with the intention of frightening the Albanians and forcing them give up their rights. The strategists of such a course forget that these measures bring no benefit, that the Albanians are not made of an easily-malleable stuff, as those who strive for the denial of their rights and freedom would have liked.

A frenzied propaganda campaign has been unleashed at the same time against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The articles, books, the interviews inside and outside Serbia are countless. Our ears are listening to all kinds of rubbish: Most vulgar slanders, crazy fantasies, megalonamic boasting, and chauvinistic appeals. One says: responsibility rests on Albania for world's condemnation of the anti-Albanian campaign of the Serbs in Kosovo. Perhaps is it Albania which urged the Serbian constitutional amendments, which abolished the autonomy of Kosovo and trampled underfoot the rights of the Albanians. It is the Yugoslav leadership which has put into prisons, has brought charges and opened police files for 480,000 Kosovo citizens.

It is the Yugoslav leadership which is dismissing from work and exerting psychological pressure and terror on the Albanian intelligentsia of Kosovo. It is that leadership which sent in Kosovo 15,000 soldiers, hundreds of tanks, armoured vehicles, helicop and airplanes as well as special police units. Upon its orders shots were fired against the children, women, and youth sowing mourning in hundreds of Kosovo families.

Another one says: Albania has no right to speak about Kosovo, about the defence of the human rights, about the denial of the democratic freedoms of the Albanians in Serbia, because these rights are allegedly negated in Albania, because there the national minorities are suppressed etc. These are ordinary slanders, which are not worth dealing with. The rights of the people, the freedom of conscience, and the democratic rights of all the citizens without exception, be they Albanians or Greek, Jewish, Slav or other nationality, have been and are being consistently protected. The Yugoslav officials, too, know this very well.

But even assuming that there is a touch of truth, in the slanders of the hot heads of anti-Albanian chauvinism. Can this justify the negation of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo, the imposition of curfew, the imprisonment and the killings of innocent people. Can this perhaps save the face of Serbia, which has replaced the democratic dialogue with the Albanians in Kosovo with the savage police oppression and the tanks, in order to impose on them laws and regulations of colonial times?

A third one writes: "Albania misuses the Yugoslav courtesy," when it denounces the anti-Albanian acts in Kosovo. Firstly, socialist Albania has wished and wishes good neighbourliness with Yugoslavia. This has been and is its consistent policy. Even when it denounces and stigmatizes the events in Kosovo and when it calls for the observation of the national rights of the Albanians, Albania proceeds from this policy. How can the friendship, and the understanding between our two countries be consolidated when our compatriots in Serbia, who number more than two millions are persecuted and killed?

A for the so-called "Yugoslav courtesy" we have much to say. But here we don't deem it necessary to touch upon the chapters of the past. It would be enough to give an answer to some slanders, which appear so often in the Yugoslav press.

Things are presented as if Serbia has allegedly made sacrifices for the sake of Albania, as if it has accepted unreciprocal relationship with Albania and so on and so forth. One is even tempted to say that Serbia keeps Albania alive. Such megalomanic boasting reflects in itself the chauvinist mentality, the prejudices and the day-dreams of some leading circles in Yugoslavia, as if they are protectors and Albania is their sphere of influence.

Which are these "unreciprocal relationships" the Yugoslavs have accepted? None of them really exists. Every agreement has been reached on the basis of mutual interest and always with the consent of both sides. Someone speaks about the transit passage of Albanian vehicles through the Yugoslav territory. But it is not said that the same right is also given to the Yugoslav vehicles passing through Albania.

Someone says that through the construction of Fierza lake, it has been allowed that when it reaches maximum quotas it floods about 300 hectares of land in Kosovo. But they do not say that as a result of immense expenditure made by the Albanian side to bridge Drin river, Montenegro, that is, Yugoslavia, has gained nearly 2,300 hectares of land from the lowering of the level of Shkoder lake. And it has paid not a cent for it. Speak of Belgrade-Tirana airline, which is allegedly unprofitable, just as they speak of Shkoder-Titograd railway. But they do not say that these means do not transport only Albanian goods and citizens. Their profit depends on the economic activity of the two sides and particularly by the tariffs adopted by the Yugoslav railways, which, it must be said, are very high. Now JAT solved the problem, it is saved from sacrifices, by annulling one-sidedly the existing agreement on Belgrade-Tirana airline.

The last wonder, the Belgrade press wrote about recently, is that even in the trade exchanges with Serbia we allegedly have the clause of the most-favored country. Before thanking the Yugoslav side for this generosity, we will wait until any concrete data be published for what kind of goods the northern neighbor is allegedly selling to us on such favorable conditions?

Neither the world public opinion is convinced, nor Yugoslavia's evils are alleviated, nor the problem of Kosovo is solved, nor the relations with the People's

Socialist Republic of Albania are smoothed beating the anti-Albanian drums. The less so the concentration and mobilization of several thousands of soldiers in the border with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, equipped with tanks, aircraft and helicopters serve the good neighborliness. If anyone thinks of frightening someone in this way, that in this way pressure is exerted on socialist Albania, we would like to say that the Albanian people have feared and fear no one. Threats, blackmail and provocations will never take it aback. When it is about the defense of freedom, independence of homeland, and national sovereignty, the Albanians have never retreated even before supreme sacrifices.

In order to pave the road to the solution of accumulated problems and to cool the blood, we have said and repeat again that wisdom and cool-headedness, political realism and good will are needed. It is required to give up the chauvinistic passions, to put an end to the state of emergency and military-police regime in Kosovo, so as to open the road to democratic dialogue and tranquillity, an end should be put to persecution of honest people and the civic rights for the Albanians be observed just as for every Yugoslav citizens. The Albanian nationality and its rights should be recognized in compliance with the weight and role it deserved as a subject of the Yugoslav federation.

Albania wants that as good relations as possible, as normal relations as possible exist between the two countries, Yugoslavia and Albania. We uphold that this is to the interests of the two countries and to the good of peace in the Balkans and broader, in Europe. Our country abides by the line defined at the ninth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party that if they in Yugoslavia will start to think differently on Albania and the Albanians, if they want to live in peace and friendship with them, they will have us ready partners to cooperate and go ahead in all those directions which serve the freedom and independence of our countries, their sovereignty and territorial integrity, good neighborliness, and the friendship among the peoples.

James Baker's Meetings in Moscow Examined

AU1705080289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 May 89 p 4

[Lulzim Cota article: "Moscow-Washington Talks Continue"]

[Excerpts] After a temporary interruption caused by the change in the United States Administration, the ritual Soviet-American meetings have begun again. For two consecutive days, United States Secretary of State Baker was an "honored guest" in Moscow. He met and held talks with his Soviet counterpart Shevardnadze and with Gorbachev, to whom he conveyed a message from President Bush. In their statements to the press, the two sides declared themselves to be "satisfied" at the first talks between the new Bush administration and Moscow. Baker, at a news conference after his meeting with Gorbachev, called his visit to Moscow "very useful and productive." The official Soviet spokesman Gerasimov stated on this occasion that the talks had been "constructive and promising."

According to Soviet and American officials, the talks had a long agenda. Among the topics discussed were several key problems such as bilateral relations, cooperation over regional conflicts, and disarmament. On the subject of bilateral relations, Baker, speaking on behalf of President Bush, said that the United States "is ready to intensify the dialogue between our two countries." It is a fact that economic and political relations between the two countries have grown stronger even during Bush's short time in office. [passage omitted] As has emerged at the end of the talks, not only Soviet-American relations, but also Europe and regional conflicts were discussed. The Americans and Soviets have the right to meet and talk about their problems. They can also talk about reducing the nuclear weapons they have scattered around Europe and the world, which the peoples have never wanted. They can put forward proposals, as Gorbachev has done recently. All steps of this kind will make progress in reducing tension, but this does not in any way mean that peace in Europe and the world will have been guaranteed once and for all. The superpowers can also talk about developments in various parts of the world. Yet, however large and important a role their military and economic potential may give them, it is absolutely intolerable that the superpowers should discuss and decide the fates of others behind their backs, as was done in the present talks in Moscow. It is still more intolerable when one realizes that it is Washington and Moscow, either openly or covertly, who have been the real instigators of regional conflicts in today's world, and who have encouraged them and fanned their flames. Therefore, the peoples of Central America, the Middle East, and other regions expect no good to come from these talks held behind their backs. The lessons of history have proved that conflicts solved with the "help" of the superpowers contain within themselves the seeds of fresh conflicts.

USSR Disarmament Proposals Positively Assessed
AU1605110289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 May 89 p 5

[Editorial article: "Great Chance for Peace"]

[Text] The time when the West used to present every new Soviet peace initiative as a "new Moscow propaganda move" is over.

In our times the Soviet peace initiatives are at the center of all mankind's attention and inspire real hope that achieving a lasting peace is an attainable goal. The additional proposals of the Soviet Union at the Vienna talks on limiting conventional weapons and armed forces also strengthen this hope.

The proposals are a large-scale initiative, whose implementation would allow radical reductions to be made already before the end of the century, and thus reduce the Armed Forces and weapons of NATO and the Warsaw Pact that are subject of the Vienna talks to an equal level in the two alliances. The radical character of this new Soviet initiative in the area of disarmament is clearly reflected in the proposed reduction of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO by more than 1 million troops; NATO's combat aircraft and helicopters by approximately 2,500; the Warsaw Pact's tanks by 40,000; and so forth. The scope of the proposed reductions is determined by the just principle according to which the side that has more will reduce more, and the side that has less will reduce less.

The declared readiness of the USSR to withdraw all nuclear munition [boepripasi] from the territory of its allies during the period 1989-91, if the United States adopts an analogous step, reveals great prospects for a lasting peace in the continent. The implementation of this very bold and radical proposal would practically mean turning large regions of Europe, including the most neuralgic ones, into zones free of nuclear weapons. Even now NATO and the leading states of this military bloc consider that nuclear weapons are a "means of ensuring peace." There cannot be a more correct and real road of guaranteeing peace and the peoples' security than removing the nuclear threat. The prospects revealed by the Soviet readiness are strong proof of this fact.

The USSR and the Warsaw Pact member countries are making great efforts, including effort along the road of unilateral disarmament, to move forward the historical process that began with the signing of the INF Treaty. The Soviet decision to withdraw 500 tactical nuclear warheads from the territory of its allies before the end of the year is another step along that road.

It must be clear to all that the possibilities for unilateral steps are limited and that developing the process of disarmament requires more than goodwill moves by only one of the sides. The additional USSR proposals submitted at the Vienna talks on limiting conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe are radical and realistic at the same time, they correspond to the interests of East and West alike, and thus represent a great chance for peace. It must not be ruined by the obsolete thinking and approach of those Western military and political figures for whom strengthening peace still means increasing the mountains of weapons.

Paper Assesses Results of Baker Moscow Visit
AU1605111289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 May 89 p 5

[Editorial article: "Progress Is Evident, Differences Remain"]

[Text] The expectations were far more moderate than the results that were achieved—this is the synthesis of the assessments of the recent 2-day visit to Moscow by James Baker, U.S. secretary of state.

The visit took place after a pause of several months, which the U.S. Administration took at the beginning of its mandate with a view to analyzing its foreign policy priorities. The White House's passive position on basic bilateral and global issues, and primarily on the issues of disarmament and arms control, at a time when the deep changes in international relations require not only new but also rapid answers and approaches, prompted rather contradictory commentaries in the press and created a certain sense of uncertainty. How will the USSR-U.S. dialogue develop in future, will continuity prevail, is it not dangerous to lose the momentum at the talks on which the future and character of our civilization depend to a large extent? Those questions have already been answered.

The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, clearly said at his meeting with James Baker: "...I am convinced that the dialogue must continue and be raised to a new level, while we advance toward real cooperation in all issue. The optimism in this area is justified. It is strengthened not only by the common opinions, but also by a certain experience. The entire world desires this. The main thing is to be realists. In the course of many years we have already experienced the unproductiveness of the other approach and the dangers it represents for both countries and the world." James Baker expressed his opinion in a similar spirit at the press conference after the talks. He described his visit as "very useful and productive."

The fact that the dialogue continues on the basis of the principle of constructive continuity is very important. However, the fact that specific results have been achieved is even more important: The talks on strategic nuclear weapons will resume in June in Geneva; an agreement was also reached to conduct a new round of bilateral consultations on banning chemical weapons; on 26 June the sides will resume the talks on limiting and banning nuclear tests; an agreement was signed on cooperation in the struggle against polluting the Bering and Chuckchee Seas in extraordinary situations.

To this one also must add the new Soviet proposal on working out a bilateral agreement on the verifiable stopping of the production of all kinds of decomposable materials for weapons, as well as the additional proposals introduced by the USSR at the Vienna talks on limiting conventional weapons and armed forces. Progress was also achieved in bringing the positions on overcoming the regional conflicts closer together, more specifically in Central America and the Middle East.

Certain essential differences on the important issue of the future of the tactical missiles in Europe emerged along with the specific results that were achieved during James Baker's visit to Moscow. The U.S. side, invoking the NATO doctrine on nuclear detainment, again presented its well-known and unconvincing arguments on the modernization of this kind of weapon. Its intentions represent the serious threat of destabilizing the military-strategic situation in Europe.

Without underestimating these differences, and being aware that the possibilities of overcoming them have not been exhausted at all, the assessment of James Baker's visit to Moscow is that it marked progress in the USSR-U.S. dialogue. This cannot be denied, even by the greatest skeptics and opponents of detente.

Chief of Staff Queried on Pact Military Doctrine

AU1705070989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Army General Vladimir Lobov, commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by Khristo Marinchev: "Along the Path of Reasonable Sufficiency" on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact—dispatched through NOVOSTI—date, place not given]

[Text] [Marinchev] Comrade Army General, it is beyond any doubt that the Warsaw Pact organization has constantly developed since its establishment. Can you describe the political and military-technical foundations of its present military doctrine?

[Lobov] The military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states is determined by the peace-loving, foreign, and constructive domestic policy of the socialist states. Their peoples have never needed and do not need any wars; they are neither interested in the arms race nor in intensifying international tension. The historical task of socialism is to preserve and consolidate peace.

All this is reflected in the political aspects of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states and in the doctrine of each single member country. The socialist countries wholeheartedly reject war as a means of resolving interstate conflicts.

The Warsaw Pact member states committed themselves to never, and under no circumstances, start military action against any country as long as they are not attacked. They have no territorial claims against any state in Europe or outside Europe, and they do not regard any country or nation whatsoever as an enemy.

These postulates determine the defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, as well as the military-technical aspect of this doctrine. In accordance with this doctrine, preventing war is the basic task of the allied states and of their Armed Forces. Under the circumstances of the existing military danger, however, the other task of the Warsaw Pact member states and of their Armed Forces is to repel aggression against any member state. For this reason, our member states maintain the number of their Armed Forces and their quality at the level required for defensive purposes.

[Marinchev] Can you describe the organizational principles of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces under the conditions of the new defense doctrine?

[Lobov] The principle of reasonable sufficiency is already applied in this respect. The first step toward its implementation was a unilateral reduction of armed forces which was effectuated by all Warsaw Pact member states.

Along with this, the structure of our troops and forces is changing, the armaments are being redistributed in their general balance. The numerous systems of armaments for offensive action are being either totally withdrawn or reduced. The equipment of troops with arms assigned for antitank defense, for combat with other armored targets on the battlefield, and for antiaircraft defense, namely for defense against basic offensive weapons, is increasing.

This also applies to our guidelines related to the recruitment and training of troops. These guidelines are presently mapped out in conformity with the requirement that in case of aggression against our countries, the basic actions of our Armed Forces at the beginning of the war should be defense operations. This means that in training our staffs and troops priority should be given to defensive actions on a strategic, operational, and tactical scale.

[Marinchev] Can you describe the requirements and new quality criteria related to the Armies of the fraternal countries in defending our countries' security, in guaranteeing a reliable defense of peace and socialism?

[Lobov] The new conditions in the development of the Armed Forces of our allied states and the tasks stemming from the military doctrine determine new requirements related to these Armed Forces and new criteria for the evaluation of their activities. In summing up all these criteria we can describe them as follows: The combat readiness of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, despite the reduction of defense expenditures, should be sufficient to make us capable of resisting the aggressor.

These were the guidelines for the socialist countries in adapting their military organization to quality parameters. The essential meaning of this process is reflected in the establishment of real prerequisites for a considerable, quantitative reduction of armaments, technical equipment, and army personnel to the level of reasonable sufficiency, while the quality of the remaining forces, equipment, organizational institutions, and the training of the army personnel should be simultaneously improved.

I would like to call particular attention to the fact that priority treatment of quality criteria in military organization is not identical with striving for military superiority. Our goal is to maintain the combat power of the allied armed forces at a level guaranteeing the repelling of any aggression. These efforts should not be compared with the NATO plans for the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons and for additional armaments and with their plans for compensating for reduced nuclear power resulting from the destruction of medium and smaller range missiles.

[Marinchev] Can you describe the attitude of the West to the policy of further reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe?

[Lobov] I would characterize this attitude as double-edged. On the one hand, we cannot fail to point out the concern of the West for the solution of such problems. It is this concern, in particular, and the understanding of the requirement of adopting specific measures for reducing the level of military confrontation that motivated the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states in meeting at the negotiating table in Vienna.

The results from the first stage of these negotiations show that the stands of the two sides on these questions contain identical views as well as differences. This is quite natural. The fears and mutual distrust accumulated over several decades will not be easily dissipated. We should strive for more mutual understanding, for mutual respect of one's partner's opinions; we should manifest political goodwill, readiness for compromise, patience, and foresight.

The striving to complicate the path toward mutual agreement, however, is unjustified. The stand of the NATO member countries at the Vienna negotiations is based on their view that the Warsaw Pact member states should be obliged to engage in new, unilateral disarmament, while the NATO partners, in turn, should not be involved in any steps leading toward the reduction of their own armed forces.

Certain other aspects in the Western approach to the problems of reducing armed forces and armaments cause us concern as well.

I would like to dwell on the problem of tactical nuclear arms, in a broad context. This includes tactical missiles, strike aircraft, and artillery equipped with nuclear components. These weapons are part of the subjects discussed at the Vienna talks. Nevertheless, their existence makes it impossible to guarantee security and stability in Europe, and prevents us from eliminating the threat of surprise attack. For this reason, the Warsaw Pact member states proposed to the NATO member countries to begin separate negotiations for the reduction and elimination of tactical, nuclear arms in Europe. This proposal, did not evoke any positive response.

There is a discrepancy between words and deeds on the Western side. This is a factor of serious concern in European and international policy, a factor which forces our countries to be more vigilant.

[Marinchev] Can you describe your own views on the methods for consolidating the unity and comradeship in arms among the soldiers of the fraternal armies?

[Lobov] In my opinion, these relations are based on our revolutionary traditions and on the current processes which are developing in the allied countries.

The adoption of the new military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member countries opens up vast opportunities for the further consolidation of our comradeship in arms. The implementation of the principles of this doctrine is unthinkable without the participation of the broad masses of the soldiers because combat readiness begins with the individual soldier, sergeant, and officer, who should be profoundly aware of their patriotic and international duties.

Naturally, we should not reject the experience in military cooperation among our countries that has accumulated over the years.

The process of the fraternal armies' drawing closer together is constantly developing. By no means does this process deny the specific features and the peculiar historical conditions of each army. The cooperation of our armies contributes to our joint efforts in overcoming the emerging difficulties.

As a result of this, the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries reached a higher stage in their overall training in recent years. They have all available resources to guarantee the reliable protection of their peoples' socialist achievements and peaceful labor efforts.

Lt Gen Minchev on Pact, NATO Arms Control

AU1605185089 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 12 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, first deputy commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army and spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, by Tsvyatko Belenski, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent: "Shield of the Longest Peace"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Belenski] What is the essence of the peace initiatives of the USSR and the

Warsaw Pact member countries, and how are they greeted in Europe and the world and by the leading sociopolitical circles in the United States and NATO?

[Minchev] The USSR and the other fraternal countries proposed many initiatives. The most important among them are: the total and comprehensive ban on tests of nuclear weapons and preventing their proliferation; strict control of the elimination of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, which must include on-the-spot inspections; elimination of the imbalances and asymmetries and reducing the armed forces and weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals; creation of zones and corridors free of nuclear and chemical weapons; reduction of strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent in the first stage; relinquishment of the use of military force by the Warsaw Pact and NATO; elimination of the bases on foreign territory and withdraw of the troops to their national borders; consultations at various levels on comparing the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Pact; simultaneously disbandment of the existing military blocs, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Belenski] What about the issue of the "modernization" of NATO's tactical nuclear weapons, and what conclusions must be drawn by the peace-loving forces and the Warsaw Pact?

[Minchev] The "modernization" of NATO's tactical nuclear weapons is a dangerous step by the new U.S. administration, which in essence aims at pushing NATO and the Warsaw Pact toward a new race in the sphere of nuclear weapons, and thus obliterating the INF Treaty, signed by the USSR and the United States.

The United States, actively supported by the UK, Canada, and the higher military-political leadership of NATO, insists on quickly adopting a decision on beginning the "modernization." The adherents to "modernization" are motivated by the consideration that such a measure would strengthen the security of Western Europe. In essence, it is envisaged to replace the "Lance" tactical missile systems with a new model. As a result, the range of the tactical nuclear weapons will increase from 110-120 km to 480-500 km. It has been envisaged to modernize and introduce 600 of such missiles. [passage omitted]

Some NATO countries, and especially the FRG, Belgium, Norway, and others, openly oppose the modernization and adhere to the so-called "third zero," namely, the elimination of the short-range missiles. They are motivated by the consideration that such a decision would favorably influence the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and on measures on strengthening confidence and security. This opinion was presented to the U.S. leadership by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher. Belgium and Norway also expressed interest in accelerating the beginning of talks between the East and West on tactical nuclear weapons. This position is supported by France, Spain, Greece, and others. The meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group also confirmed the serious differences among the Atlantic partners on the issue of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. The participants in the meeting could not agree on coordinated decisions and refrained from categorically supporting the idea of modernization. This was also confirmed by the communique, which was published at the end of the meeting. [passage omitted]

Perhaps at the end of May, when a special NATO summit will take place, the differences will be overcome, something which will conform to the United States and NATO's leading circles, rather than to the peoples' will.

As you see, confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact has not been overcome yet. The military confrontation continues to exist. The arms race has been slowed down to a certain degree, but has not been eliminated. The United States and NATO are striving to achieve qualitatively new superiority. New and even more flexible efforts on the part of the peace-loving forces are needed, as well as increased vigilance and a constant combat readiness of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces in order to preserve peace in the world.

Col Gen Dobrev Examines Poor Health of Recruits

AU1705104289 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 16 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense: "Necessary Change"]

[Excerpts] The Ministry of National Defense has a great deal of data on the health and physical condition of that section of our young men who appear every year for examination before the recruiting commissions for entry into the Bulgarian People's Army. This data is extremely unfavorable.

Our researches carried out during the past 10 years into the health and physical condition of young recruits reveal the following trends:

—Internal diseases show a slight fall, from 3,129 cases in 1979 to 2,884 in 1989. Peptic ulcers are the most frequent reason for rejection or postponement of acceptance of young men by the recruiting commissions. For example, last year about 500 candidate recruits were rejected for this reason.
—The incidence of cardiovascular defects is increasing, rising from 220 cases in 1979 to 278 in 1989.
—Arterial hypertension and bronchial asthma show a tendency to rise.
—Mental and nervous illnesses are on the increase: These rose from 1,698 cases in 1979 to 1,870 in 1989. The most frequently encountered illnesses are mental deficiency and epilepsy, followed by traumatic and inflammatory diseases of the nervous system. Cases of neuroses and reactive psychosis are also increasing.

In 1988, 7,748 members of the intake called up were not accepted for health reasons. Of these, 2,341 were classified as unfit for military service, which represents an almost two-fold increase over the number rejected 10 years ago. [passage omitted]

Despite this unfavorable evidence of physical and mental health, the average rating achieved by the young candidate recruits in physical training at school is over 5.50 [on a 6-point scale]. This fact is indicative of the extremely low demands and criteria of the physical education teachers, who freely give out high marks. [passage omitted]

The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense is doing everything possible to improve the physical training of young men completing their regular military service. At present, we have provided three physical education periods per week for the young soldiers. All soldiers perform 40 minutes of physical exercises every morning. Twice a week in winter, and three times in summer, they have 90 minutes of mass sports activities. The total time spent on physical training amounts to 8-9 hours per week. Officers in the headquarters staff have 4 hours of compulsory physical training per week, irrespective of age, in addition to a 1-day march every month and two 2-day marches per year. [passage omitted]

Our army experience shows that such a system of training is able to radically alter the physical condition and efficiency of the young men over 2 years. According to research carried out, by the end of the second year of service in barracks the general working capacity of the young men increases by a factor of about 1.5, and their strength increases by 60-70 percent, stamina by 70-75 percent, flexibility by 35-40 percent, strength of the back muscles by about 11 kg; and strength of the arms by 14 kg. Lung capacity increases by an average of 450-500 cm, chest measurement by 4-5 cm, height by 2-3 cm, and weight by 3-4 kg. [passage omitted]

I consider that the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education, the Central Committee of the Komsomol, and the Ministry of National Defense must draw up an overall long-term, scientifically based program for the mental, physical, and military-political training of young men prior to their military service. Given the present situation, this approach would be the most rational and would produce the best results.

Joint Publishing Enterprise Formed With USSR

AU1305143289 Sofia BTA in English 1357 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 13 (BTA)—Documents for the foundation of the first Bulgaro-Soviet enterprise in the sphere of book publishing and distribution Interprint were signed recently. In an interview for NARODNA KULTURA the Deputy Chairman of the Bulgarian Books and Printing Association Lyuben Vasilev points out that the activity of the new joint enterprise will be related to the publishing of books, albums, booklets, calendars, advertising materials. It will carry out different polygraphic services.

60 per cent of the production will be distributed in the USSR, 20 per cent in Bulgaria and 20 per cent in third countries. The books in Russian will be processed by the Moscow centre and printed in the Soviet Union while the books for sale in Bulgaria will be printed in the Sofia branch.

About 10 titles are planned for this year and about forty for 1990. It is expected that the first book published by Interprint will be presented at the Moscow Book Fair in September this year.

Ambassador Lyuben Petrov on New Citizenship Law

AU1105185289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 89 p 2

["Statement" for RABOTNICHESKO DELO by Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, leader of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the "Vienna meeting": "All This is Logical"—date, place not given]

[Text] The adoption of amendments and addenda to the laws on Bulgarian citizenship, foreign travel passports, and the Penal Code, as well as the proposal on a new Amnesty Law by the present National Assembly Session reflect the logical trends which are developing in our society on the basis of the July Plenum strategy. They are related to the agreements of the Vienna meeting.

However, this relation should be correctly understood. The successes achieved in Vienna are primarily the results from the new processes developing in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and other socialist countries. The final document which concluded the meeting would have been unthinkable without restructuring. I would like to point out another factor. The Vienna document reflects numerous principles contained in already existing international pacts on human rights which our country has ratified. The work on the preparation of the draft amendments to the aforementioned laws in our country was initiated 2 years ago, prior to the end of the Vienna meeting. This was dictated by the urgent requirements of developing our society.

The new regulations based on the law will give further impetus to the practical implementation of the principles contained in the July Concept and of the decisions adopted by the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee December Plenum, aimed at the development of a civic society under conditions of the self-management system. Along with this, we are taking an important step forward in implementing the final document of the Vienna meeting. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out, we not only welcome the agreements reached at the Vienna meeting, but we will also

apply them. The fulfillment of these agreements is now becoming one of the major tasks of our foreign and domestic policy in further opening up Bulgaria to Europe and the world.

Culture Minister Yordanov Meets Mubarak in Cairo

AU1605180189 Sofia BTA in English
1530 GMT 16 May 89

["Bulgaria, Egypt: Will To Broaden Cooperation"]

[Text] Cairo, May 16 (BTA corr.)—The President of the Arab Republic of Egypt Mr Husni Mubarak, received today Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education of Bulgaria, who is on a current visit here at the invitation of the government.

On behalf of Bulgaria's State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov, cordial greetings and wishes for the development and well-being of the friendly Egyptian people were conveyed to President Husni Mubarak.

Expressing gratitude for the greetings and wishes the president of Egypt stressed the traditionally good relations between the two peoples. He conveyed greetings to the Bulgarian state leader and wishes for the further development of friendly Bulgaria. It was stressed at the meeting that the good basis of the Bulgaro-Egyptian dialogue open new oportunities for development and deepening of the cooperation in the political, economic and intellectual sphere.

It was noted that of special importance is the exchange of cultural values which contributes to the mutual getting to know and getting closer of the two peoples and to the development of the relations between Bulgaria and Egypt. The success of the different events displaying Bulgarian art in Egypt is an expression of this.

Group of Turks Begin Hunger Strike in Bulgaria

TA0605174389 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish
1600 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] A group of Turks whose names have been forcibly changed began a hunger strike today to regain their old names. A report by ANATOLIA AGENCY says that 15 persons living in a village inhabited by Turks in Bulgaria's Deliorman region began a hunger strike to protest the Bulgarization campaign undertaken by the Bulgarian Government against Turks and to regain their names, which have been forcibly changed.

Control Committee Delegation Pays Visit to SRV

AU1705103889 Sofia BTA in English
0944 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Hanoi, May 17 (BTA correspondent)—A delegation of the Bulgarian Committee of State and Public Control headed by Mr Georgi Georgiev, chairman of the committee, paid a six-day official visit to Vietnam.

During the talks with Mr Nguyen Ky Kam, chairman of the Committee of State Control of Vietnam, the two sides discussed the tasks the control bodies have got to carry out in the conditions of restructuring and renewal. The Vietnamese side showed special interest in Bulgaria's experience in the organization of state and public control and in the respective operative normative documents. The two control committees signed an agreement on cooperation.

Mr Georgi Georgiev was received by Mr Do Muoi, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and chairman of the Council of Ministers. In a friendly conversation the Vietnamese leader underlined how important Bulgaria's experience is for Vietnam which now has to build an orderly legal basis for control activity.

Diplomatic Consultations Held With Laos

AU1305185289 Sofia BTA in English
1738 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 13 (BTA)—Consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Laos were held in Sofia on May 11 and May 12th. The delegations were led by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Suban Srithirat, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Laos.

They exchanged information on the revolutionary restructuring of the socio-political life in the two countries and opinions on the condition and development of the bilateral relations on the basis of the agreement for friendship and cooperation of 1979. Current international issues were also discussed.

The consultations confirmed the full unity of the positions of the two countries on the questions of mutual interest.

Romanian Leader's Working Visit Begins 17 May

Ceausescu Arrives in Prague

LD1705091989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, arrived in Prague today for a working friendly visit.

Jakes, Ceausescu Meet

LD1705145289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, had talks in Prague today with Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu.

He briefed the guest on the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress on the implementation of the program of economic and social restructuring and democratization.

Nicolae Ceausescu singled out as the great victory of the Romanian people, the expression of their national economic strength: The repayment of the whole foreign debt at the end of March, which means the complete economic and political independence of Romania.

The two leaders assessed the fulfillment of conclusions adopted at their meeting in Bucharest last year. They noted that both sides have been making efforts to further broaden and deepen Czechoslovak-Romanian relations in all spheres. The implementation of the set aims requires, however, a more resolute approach and more initiative of central and local organs acting in the economic sphere above all.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu appreciated the positive development in exchanges of goods in the past year, when the greatest volume was achieved. They recalled the fact that the share of specialized and coordinated products still remains insufficient. They noted that the utilization of higher forms of cooperation represents the main path toward the intensification of bilateral economic cooperation. In this connection they singled out the importance of the Czechoslovak-Romanian program to further deepen production coordination and specialization signed during the visit.

When exchanging views on some topical issues of the international situation, Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu agreed that the prservation of peace and security in the world; the halting of the growth of armaments, above all nuclear; and the removal of the danger of nuclear disaster are presently the main issues.

The Romanian leader then spoke with Gustav Husak, president of the republic, in Prague Castle.

Charter 77 Protests Visit

AU1705101889 Paris AFP in English 1011 GMT 17 May 89

[Excerpt] Prague, May 17 (AFP)—Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu arrived Wednesday in Prague to a strong protest by Czechoslovakia's best-known human rights organization.

Members of the Charter 77 movement, a group dedicated to monitoring the Helsinki accords, said world opinion was "shocked by Romania's human rights record" and described the visit as "extremely ill-timed." It was every government's "moral, even political duty to protest at such a policy," Charter 77 said.

Romania and Czechoslovakia are the two countries of the Warsaw Pact that have received the most criticism in recent times for their alleged failure to respect human rights. The Charter 77 letter challenged Milos Jakes, the Czechoslovak leader, to denounce the Romanian leader's policies, "or else we must consider that you not only agree with the methods of such dictators but that you actually support them." [passage omitted]

Prague Court Releases Vaclav Havel on Probation

LD1705113589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The Area Court for Prague Four today ordered the conditional discharge of the convicted person, Vaclav Havel, from the execution of punishment by deprivation of freedom.

The above-mentioned person was found guilty of the criminal act of sedition and of perpetrating a misdemeanor against public order. He was sentenced to 8 months deprivation of freedom by the Prague three court on 21 February this year and by the Prague city court on 21 March. In execution of this sentence he was put into the first corrective education group.

On 27 April, convict Vaclav Havel submitted an appeal through his defense counsel in which he said that he was fulfilling the given tasks on time, with the greatest care, and consequently there has been no criticism of his behavior during the execution of his punishment. Therefore, he thinks that his behavior during the execution of his punishment is exemplary. It can be assumed, he went on to say in his appeal, that the execution of punishment so far has fulfilled the aim envisaged by Paragraphs 23 and 31 of the criminal code. As can be expected, Vaclav Havel wrote further, I would behave with propriety in the future. As I have proved with my behavior that I am meeting the conditions for release on parole I request my conditional release from the execution of the punishment.

The wife and the brother of the convict submitted a similar appeal.

The court noted at today's public hearing that convict Vaclav Havel had served half of the punishment, including the time spent in custody. The report of the corrective education unit shows that his work is exemplary and his behavior orderly.

After determining that the conditions for conditional release have been fulfilled the court decided to release the convict conditionally from the execution of punishment, and set a probation period of 18 months. At the public court hearing a representative of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and Czechoslovak and foreign journalists were present. The decision of the court has the force of law.

Rome Daily Cites CPCZ Document on Dissidents

PM1705151289 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 11 May 89 p 12

["Slam" report: "Jakes' Secret Report"]

[Text] In its June issue the French magazine LA NOUVELLE ALTERNATIVE will publish an internal Czechoslovak Communist Party report on the groups in opposition to Jakes' neo-Stalinist system. Here are some extracts: "The illegal groups are currently represented by some 20 organizations that have at least 500 members or agitators and at least 5,000 supporters. They work in coordination and are all under Charter 77. The latter's plan is clearly to have the dissident movement acquire a mass character and engage in open opposition to the prevailing political system. Among other things, Charter 77 has forged organizational links with the sectors of the church that advocate a confessional policy. All 20 illegal groups are definitely directed and financed by the West, which is fishing in troubled waters by instigating the following groups: 1, antisocial criminals; 2, disoriented and immature adolescents; 3, bored adults seeking new experiences; and, 4, diehard antisocialists, who are the most dangerous elements.

"The illegal groups," the report continues, "are internationalizing their activity, establishing alliances and understandings with Polish and Hungarian dissidents. In fact the end of 1988 saw the establishment of the 'East European Information Agency,' which involves Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian, Soviet, and GDR dissidents. It is important not to underestimate in connection with these phenomena the negative influence of the revisionist measures adopted by the Polish and Hungarian Governments. So the illegal structures have become a social phenomenon that can no longer be controlled solely through the use of force. The time has come to issue political responses, combining them judiciously with administrative and repressive measures. Though it remains unthinkable to authorize and legalize the illegal groups, it is nevertheless necessary to act far-sightedly: There is a pressing need to revive the National Front as a pole of attraction for malcontents."

So the authors of the report acknowledge the growing opposition and suggest friendly solutions: The National Front is in fact an old inter-party relic composed of the classic "useful idiots" drawn into the regime's orbit. No matter how much you press it, the old lemon produces the same old juice, whatever you call it.

Government Session on Economic Development

AU1605163289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 May 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Held Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Thursday [11 May] the CSSR Government discussed and adopted a package of measures aimed at strengthening economic balance and improving overall development of the Czechoslovak economy this year. After an extensive discussion, it decided to temporarily halt the start of all construction projects between 15 May and 31 December 1989, with the exception of projects falling under the adopted ecological program, comprehensive housing construction, and public projects to be built by the citizens themselves.

Further, the CSSR Government determined that the normative rates of wages payable will not be amended in the course of this year, and that the starting base of wages to be paid for the staff of independent general directorates next year will be reduced by the volume of wages planned for the whole of 1988. As to the remaining types of the intermediary tier of management discharging supervisory functions in enterprises, such as, for example, departmental enterprises, the volume of wages will be reduced in proportion to the sharing out of their activity, but at least by one half. The government further determined the tasks in the sphere of the state budget and currency plan, external economic relations, work and wages and capital construction, which pursue economic balance and foster the entrepreneurship of the economic organizations.

The first draft of the central variant of the CSSR's long-term outlook through the year 2005 and the preliminary draft of the economic-political directive for the preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan for the 1991-95 period, which had been submitted to the government, constitute the further stage of the work aimed at clarifying the long-term strategy of the country's social and economic development. This work will result in a composite project of structural changes in a long-term outlook, with their realization for the period of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and will result in the final draft of fundamental directions for the economic and social development through the year 2005 and the directives of the CSSR Government for the elaboration of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The CSSR Government acknowledged the state of the work on the two documents and decided that, in view of their importance, it will hold a separate meeting to discuss them.

The CSSR People's Control Committee submitted to the government a report on the results of a survey of the effectiveness of measures which were to contribute to the achievement of projected parameters on the part of certain under-utilized production capacities. The surveyed complex of 104 construction projects constitutes 47 percent of 220 capacities which did not achieve the projected parameters by 31 December 1987, with the shortfall in production amounting to almost 80 percent of the total shortfall in the production of goods. The fundamental causes of this lie in failure to ensure sales, failure to ensure supplies of raw materials, lack of manpower, lack of concepts, and wrong decisions made when starting capital construction. The government instructed the pertinent deputy premiers and ministers to ensure the elaboration and realization of specific and deadlined measures which would make it possible to achieve the projected parameters by the end of 1990; otherwise one would find another use for those production capacities.

With regard to a group of 15 construction projects which have not been fulfilling their projected parameters for a long time and are reporting economic losses, the CSSR Government decided that they will be evaluated by a group of experts under the leadership of the State Planning Commission. Proposals for their effective utilization will be submitted to the CSSR Government Presidium by 30 June this year. The minimum task is to eliminate the losses they are reporting and, in this respect, even a competition for the best solution of this task might be announced.

The CSSR Government addressed the preparations for the upcoming 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee. It approved the principles for the procedure of the CSSR standing representative to the CEMA at that session. In that connection, it also discussed the CSSR's further activities under the new conditions of CEMA's activity and a proposal for restructuring the CEMA countries' cooperation in the sphere of standardization.

In order to ensure the Czechoslovak Airlines' (CSA) ability to compete, maintain its existing position on the international market, and create conditions for the further development of civilian air transportation in connection with foreign tourism, a proposal was submitted to the CSSR Government for modernizing the CSA's pool of aircraft for international long-distance routes. The proposal proceeds from the fact that the Soviet Union—the traditional supplier of aircraft to the CSA—currently is not offering for export the types of aircraft that would suit our requirements. Therefore, it is necessary to bridge this period by purchasing aircraft from the nonsocialist countries. The CSSR Government agreed to the CSA leasing two Airbus 310-300 aircraft. At the same time, the CSSR Government issued an instruction to discuss with the Soviet side the possibility of purchasing two TU-154M aircraft in excess of the number agreed for the Eighth 5-Year Plan period and—within the framework of the coordination of the plans between the CSSR and the USSR—to negotiate the delivery of one IL-96-300 and five TU-334 aircraft for the Ninth 5-Year Plan period.

The CSSR Government acquainted itself with a report on the session of ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact member states in Berlin on 11-12 April, with the course and results of the friendly working visit by the CSSR minister of foreign affairs to Bulgaria, and the official visits by Danish, Uruguayan, and Brazilian ministers of foreign affairs to the CSSR. It acknowledged measures taken by the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, and by the regional national committees and the National Committee of the Capital of Prague to proceed more strictly in allocating manpower for newly started capital construction projects.

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In a follow-up session, the CSSR Government Presidium discussed a report on the result of a check on the construction of the Forum Hotel in Prague that was carried out by the CSSR People's Control Commission. The check revealed that the Strojexport foreign trade organization's one-sided orientation toward the Austrian Warimpex organization that acts as intermediary has resulted in considerable waste during the construction of the hotel. The CSSR Government Presidium issued an instruction to adopt measures that would preclude such shortcomings in preparing the construction of further hotels.

The CSSR Government Presidium acquainted itself with a report on the results attained by the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission in supervising the nuclear safety of nuclear facilities in 1988. The state supervision carried out by the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission fulfilled all inspection and supervision tasks arising from the Law No.28/1984. On the basis of that activity, one can say that the demand to ensure the nuclear safety of the supervised facilities was satisfactorily ensured. Neither an above-limit escape of radioactive substances into the environment nor a situation that could lead to this occurred. The radiation situation on CSSR territory is normal and stable.

Jakes, Husak Receive USSR's Yazov for Talks

AU1605165289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Deepening the Two Fraternal Armies' Collaboration; Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak Received Army General Dmitriy Yazov"]

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee, received in Prague on thursday [11 May] Army General Dmitriy

Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, who is paying an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

In a friendly comradely talk the two representatives assessed the latest developments in the international political situation and its military and security aspects. They favored the continuation of the endeavor oriented toward strengthening security and trust in Europe and in the world. It is important that this trend acquires an irreversible character. This requires adopting further concrete agreements and measures, especially in the sphere of disarmament. The peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states and their unilateral disarmament measures have thus far remained without an appropriate response from the West.

Dmitriy Yazov provided information about restructuring in the Soviet Army and the solution of organizational and social issues connected with the reorganization and reduction of the number of troops. In this connection, he expressed appreciation for the exchange of experience in the course of the talks with his Czechoslovak partners, which also concerned making the use of the freed capacities and resources for civilian purposes, as well as the possibility of an efficient application of military hardware and technologies in the production process and the development of the infrastructure.

Milos Jakes informed the guest about the tasks which the CPCZ is resolving in the period of preparations for the 18th party congress. He assessed as positive the collaboration between the CSSR and the USSR Armies when ensuring the socialist countries' defense capability.

The talk, which was held in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense; Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; and Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

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CSSR President Gustav Husak received Dmitriy Yazov and members of his entourage, Army General Mikhail Sorokin and Admiral of the Navy Aleksey Sorokin, at Prague Castle the same day.

In a comradely and cordial chat the two statesmen noted with satisfaction and agreement that Czechoslovak-Soviet relations have reached a high level and are successfully developing in all spheres. At the same time they assessed as positive the collaboration between the two fraternal armies. They stressed the importance of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the other Warsaw Pact member states, and their endeavor to create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in Europe and the world.

The reception was attended by Milan Vaclavik; Frantisek Salda, head of the Chancellery of the CSSR President; and Lieutenant General Jiri Necas, head of the Military Office of the CSSR President.

[Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia] Viktor Lomakin was also present.

Problems of Cooperation With USSR Discussed

AU1605100489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 May 89 p 1

[Pavel Paral report: "The Advantages Outweigh the Difficulties; Consultative Meeting on New Forms of Economic Cooperation With the USSR"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our own correspondent)—So far, only 10 percent of the 350 agreements concluded on the resumption of direct ties are bringing specific results. A consultative meeting of directors of select economic organizations and representatives of federal ministries on the subject of the implementation of new forms of cooperation between Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises, which took place on Wednesday [10 May] in Prague under the chairmanship of Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, should contribute to a change in this situation.

Direct ties and joint enterprises are to become one of the vital means for halting the downward trend in the dynamism of the trade exchange between the CEMA states and in renewing its upward trend. The main barriers in the development of new forms of cooperation, as was made clear in the speeches of Jaromir Obzina and the representatives of the enterprises, are concentrated in three groups. The efficiency of cooperation is influenced, first and foremost, by the disparate method of determining prices and by their detachment from world prices. As well as achieving the level of world prices in trade with the Soviet Union, which the adopted measures envisage for 1995, the need for realistic exchange rates is now looming large. The main issue is to have an exchange rate between the koruna and the Soviet and transferable ruble which would also correspond to the relationship of these currencies against the dollar. All the measures in monetary-currency relations must be directed toward the introduction of the convertibility of the transferable ruble and national currencies. Although changes in the determination of prices and monetary-currency relations are immensely complicated and require more time, it is not possible to procrastinate with them. The third problem, whose resolution requires neither time nor resources, is the exercise of the rights of enterprises in foreign business undertakings. Although the necessary legal norms do exist, in practice the initiative of the enterprises is often hindered by the central organs. [passage omitted]

In the discussion J. Kubicek, director of Skoda Plzen, pointed out that our enterprises have absolutely insufficient conceptions about the development of prices and

exchange rates in the Soviet Union and that this significantly increases the risk in cooperating with Soviet enterprises and causes a certain caution on our side. [passage omitted]

In Vitkovice one had had a negative experience from cooperation with Soviet research institutes within the framework of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Cooperation. This is because these institutes are not linked with manufacturing enterprises, so that they do not find a producer for the jointly developed equipment. [passage omitted]

At the consultative meeting it was made clear that our enterprises must emphatically improve commercial activity. Problems with sanctions for the mutual nonfulfillment of commitments and the flawed nature of contracts in this regard were also discussed. [passage omitted]

James Baker's Visit to Soviet Union Reviewed

AU1605125289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 89 p 7

[Lubor Kazda dispatch in the "We Comment" column: "The Dialogue Continues; By Our Moscow Correspondent"]

[Text] The visit paid by U.S. Secretary of State Baker to Moscow carried the imprint of a significant event: With the arrival of a new chief in the White House, a new page of Soviet-American relations is about to be written, a new stage of relations embarked upon. What will they be like? Nobody is being carried away by illusions, so let us not expect any simple development. Still, one should not forget the great breakthrough achieved during the preceding period and its far-reaching results, which justify our thinking about the continuity of these favorable transformations and their further prospects. And the Soviet side has created every condition for this.

However, the Bush government was in no hurry; it devoted several weeks to conceptual reflections on the strategic line to be taken in its policy toward the USSR. Even if not everything has been "done to a T," Secretary Baker's current Moscow negotiations have made it possible to draw one extremely important conclusion: America wants to continue its dialogue with the Soviet Union and Bush is counting on the continuity of the businesslike full-fledged negotiations between partners that have been opened with Moscow. He understands that without this any constructive policy is unthinkable.

The key moment of the talks in the Soviet capital was undoubtedly the 4-hour reception by Mikhail Gorbachev, during which the top Soviet representative came up, inter alia, with new basic initiatives for solving the issues of European security currently being discussed in Vienna. The Soviet proposals on a bilateral reduction of weapons and troops are such a far-reaching, bold suggestion that they seem to have caught the American guest unawares.

But Baker also takes home with him other Soviet proposals from the Moscow roundtable: Proposals to start working out an agreement on halting, subject to verification, the production of fissionable materials for military purposes; on adopting a principled, joint USSR-U.S. stand on the imperative need to eliminate chemical weapons and to halt their production; and on mutually halting all nuclear explosions. The Soviet side has thus made many new proposals on further specific steps to build confidence and strengthen international security, and reiterated some former proposals.

The negotiations pointed out that a substantial shift has taken place toward a rapprochement of views held by the two sides on how to resolve regional conflicts, particularly in Central America. The joint declaration on Lebanon was another important signal that the idea of solving problems by political means, without arms or bloodshed, is asserting itself. The conclusion of an agreement on USSR-U.S. cooperation in ecology deserves a special mention, not only because the very topic is in line with our times and their urgent concerns, but also because it is simultaneously a practical, useful document which expands the states' gratifying worldwide efforts to jointly look for possibilities to prevent a further destruction of nature and to avert from our planet the growing threat of an ecological infarct. This is one of the significant supranational problems and an issue of common interest; in this context, the state borders are ceasing to play a role. This line was also reflected in the concurrent views voiced in that part of the Soviet-American talks which dealt with collaboration during natural disasters, with provisions for the safety of transportation, particularly in aviation, with the fight against international terrorism and the diseases that are the scourge of mankind, and with cooperation to enhance the efficiency of UN work.

The talks have led to the conclusion of an accord on three of four and, if need be, even more annual ministers' meetings. The two sides agreed that the Soviet-American summit meetings should be rid of a certain flavor of sensationalism. In other words, emphasis is placed on the effort to purposefully intensify the businesslike nature of these contacts and to understand them as natural political events based on the rhythm and logic of the development of relations between the two countries and of the problems which have to be resolved. This, too, complements the picture of the increasingly matter-of-fact, sober, realistic approaches marking many aspects of USSR-U.S. relations.

At the same time, the talks have pointed out certain differences. For instance, Baker reiterated the well-known "nuclear intimidation" thesis and defended the American intention to modernize nuclear devices in

Europe at any price. On the other hand, he failed to provide a clear answer on America's stands in the matter of strategic nuclear and space arms negotiations, although they constitute the main direction of the disarmament process and are the place where its prospects are decided. The Soviet side has therefore expressed hope that the American stand, which is to be worked out more specifically directly during the talks mentioned above, will also proceed from the continuity of Soviet-American relations. According to Moscow observers, optimism about James Baker's visit to Moscow is, on the whole, justified—although it should be a sober optimism.

Bush Said To Continue 'Gunboat' Diplomacy
AU1705082489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 May 89 p 7

[Oldrich Pospisil commentary in the "Note" column: "Threats Due to Helplessness"]

[Text] The top U.S. representative tried to prove to the world that he has unprecedented, almost supernatural foresight when he declared, at his Wednesday [10 May] press conference in connection with the elections in Panama, Central America, that the Colin coalition of progressive and democratic parties had lost. In other words: Although even the Panamanians themselves and the legitimate control bodies of their independent country do not know the truth, the master of the White House in Washington does. Moreover, White House spokesman M. Fitzwater has announced that Bush "is considering the possibility of military or some other action...should the antigovernment coalition not win the elections."

It would seem that Washington is immune to the lesson taught by the broad-based resistance to measures against Panama—measures such as the prolongation of the economic boycott declared by Bush on 8 April, or the freezing of dues for the operation of the inter-ocean canal (already amounting to more than U.S. $100 million), all carried out with the unceasing support of "phantom president" E. Delvalle, who has been out of office as top Panamanian representative for quite some time, even though the White House still regards him as such, contrary to all logic.

Washington's attention has been focused on the elections in Panama these last few weeks, and to an extraordinary, if peculiar, extent: As attested to by the local press, the U.S. President had set aside $10 million for financing the antistate opposition in Panama prior to the elections. Toward the end of last month, security agents in Panama exposed an illegal radio and television network which was meant to disorient the broadest possible strata of the population both before and after the elections. The trail from K.F. Musen, a U.S. citizen who has been arrested in this context, leads directly to the intelligence bodies of the American military units in the Canal Zone.... It is said in Washington that "it is essential to remove" General Noriega, but also to eliminate the entire agreement on gradually handing over the Panama Canal to Panamanians, an agreement which is so extremely significant for peace in Latin America.

The "foresight" of the White House, which says that the elections in Panama were false, will scarcely be taken seriously. However, the 20,000 U.S. soldiers who were put on alert after none of the provocations against Panama proved successful, shows that threats and the gunboat "policy" which treats Latin America as its own "backyard" has not yet disappeared from the White House.

U.S. Resistance to Palestinian WHO Membership
AU1205194689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 May 89 p 7

[Milan Rusko commentary in the "Foreign-Political Note" column: "The Palestinians' Right"]

[Text] U.S. representatives are claiming that it is a "matter of principle" for the United States whether the State of Palestine is to be represented in the WHO, a part of the United Nations, or not. They are threatening that the United States will leave the organization and stop paying its contribution, which represents 20 percent of the entire budget, if the Palestinian request is granted.

For more than 40 years, the Palestinian peoples have been discriminated against and brutally persecuted. Due to U.S. support of Israel in its expansionist policy, the Palestinian peoples are unable to develop either their school system or their medical care. During the last 18 months, a people's uprising has broken out on the Palestinian bank and the Gaza Strip in which hundreds of people, including women and children, have lost their lives. The medical care there is at a very low level and the Palestinians need help. The WHO can help them, but the United States is sharply opposed to this. Suddenly the issue of human rights is not decisive for Washington; the decisive thing is the ruling—a controversial one, too—that only a state can become a member of the WHO, not a government or an organization representing a nation, albeit one recognized by the United Nations. In actual fact, the American stand has been coordinated with the genocide perpetrated by Israel on the Palestinians. About 115 member states support the Palestinians' request which is opposed solely by the United States and Israel. This also illustrates the proportion of states which are in favor of the just cause. The voting will take place tomorrow [12 May] at the UN session in Geneva.

A group of six states has asked UNESCO to accept the State of Palestine. In this way a partial issue has become a problem of principle. This is unprecedented in UN history. However, even now one can state that the resistance shown by the United States has nothing in

common either with law or with humaneness. Washington has again fallen so low as to resort to political manipulation, instead of showing a sense of reality and justice as it should.

Daily Outlines Proposals for CEMA Restructuring
LD1505185189 Prague CTK in English 0736 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Prague May 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak activities give an impetus to intensification of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) activity in new conditions, to a desirable development of the member-countries and CMEA's higher share in the world economy, today's RUDE PRAVO said in its editorial.

The daily added that Czechoslovakia considers it useful to join measures of a radical reform of the Czechoslovak economic mechanism with steps towards the restructuring of the CMEA mechanism.

"A proposal for a comprehensive conception of restructuring of mechanism of CMEA's activities, adopted by the Czechoslovak Government in the past few days, sets the objectives, main instruments of improvement of multilateral cooperation, organizational forms of development of the socialist economic integration as well as creation of a single market of the CMEA member-countries interested in it," the paper said.

The Czechoslovak proposal aims at reaching a state corresponding to the needs for intensification of the socio-economic development of the CMEA member-states, RUDE PRAVO said.

The daily added that Czechoslovakia also proposes to focus restructuring of the mechanism of CMEA activities on coordination of the general economic policy by means of national economic plans, creation of prices and financial relations, and, in connection with this, to simplify coordination of external relations, to expand the monetary mechanism, use of the instruments of value and commodity-money relations, to create a new exchange rate system of national currencies.

The proposed single market is characterized by such links between reproduction processes in which individual subjects of national economies may carry out business activities in economy on the territory of any single market's member-state.

The Czechoslovak proposal envisages the completion of restructuring of national economic mechanisms and adoption of consolidation measures to reach internal and external balance by the year 1991. By 1995, the system of coordination of the economic policy of the CMEA countries concerned should be adopted, transition to coordination of national economic plans on the level of the centre and enterprises should be prepared with their gradual transition to direct relations on the horizontal level.

In another stage, by the year 2000, free trade is to be formed and by 2005, a customs union, single market and finally common currency are to be introduced.

Czechoslovakia proposed to work out and carry out consolidation programs in CMEA member-countries in 1991-1995 which would help improve supply of consumer goods on domestic markets of the member-countries, the paper said.

As the development of economic cooperation will require better transport, it was proposed to make projects for canals that would connect the Danube with the Baltic Sea, the North Sea and the Adriatic Sea, building of transport routes of international significance, high-speed railways in Czechoslovakia linked with the international network and to form a basis for the development of information science.

Czechoslovakia also proposed to prepare a project for the organization of training of specialists for top posts, a project for the development of marketing and setting up consultation firms.

Cuban Delegation Arrives in Prague for Talks
AU1705143989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] The Czechoslovak-Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation opened its session in Prague on Monday [15 May]. The Cuban delegation, which arrived in Czechoslovakia on Sunday [14 May], is led by Joel Domenech Benitez, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and chairman of the National Energy Commission. The agenda for the session includes issues of economic and scientific-technical cooperation and plans for the 1991-95 period.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-10 May Noted
AU1205112989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 5 to 11 May report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Ladislav Adamec, accompanied by Vladimir Herman, paid a working visit to South Moravia and laid the foundation stone for a new textile plant, in Jihlava on 4 May. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 1)

Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), head of the PLO's United Security Section and member of the Fatah Political Bureau, was received by Jozef Lenart and Jaromir Johanes in the presence of Frantisek Kincl, in Prague on 4 May. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 2)

A rally in Bratislava on 4 May on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army was attended by Miloslav Hruskovic, Ignac Janak, and Ivan Knotek. (PRAVDA 5 May p 1)

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army Miloslav Hruskovic, Ignac Janak, and Ivan Knotek laid a wreath at the graves of Soviet soldiers, in Bratislava on 4 May. (PRAVDA 5 May p 1)

Milos Jakes accompanied by Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Frantisek Hanus, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil attended a rally marking the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, in Prague on 5 May. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 1)

Miroslav Hruskovic, Ignac Janak, and Ivan Knotek attended a Victory Day reception given by the Soviet consul in Bratislava on 5 May. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, accompanied by Miroslav Stepan, attended an award ceremony for new Czech meritorious artists, in Prague on 6 May. (RUDE PRAVO 7 May p 2)

Ignac Janak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, chaired a session of the Slovak National Front, in Bratislava on 10 May. (PRAVDA 11 May p 1)

Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received a group of European Parliament deputies, in Prague on 4 May. (RUDE PRAVO 5 May p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended a festival of peace and CSSR-Soviet friendship on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, in Prague on 9 May. (RUDE PRAVO 10 May p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended and addressed a festive meeting of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia in commemoration of Victory Day, in Milovice on 9 May. (RUDE PRAVO 10 May pp 1,2) He presented an award to the CKD Dukla plant in Prague on 10 May. (RUDE PRAVO 11 May p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, appointed and promoted generals on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, in Prague on 5 May. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 8;)

Frantisek Kincl, CSSR interior minister, presented the Order of Labor to Vladimir Huml, professor of the Police Academy, in Prague on 5 May. (RUDE PRAVO 6 May p 8)

Ethiopia's Mengistu, Delegation on Visit

Arrives in Berlin

AB1605171989 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Berlin, May 16 (AFP)—Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam arrived here Tuesday evening for a four-day visit to East Germany at the invitation of the East German head of state and Communist Party, the ADN news agency reported. The Ethiopian president was due to return home Friday evening, East German sources said.

According to reports from the Ethiopian capital, troops and tanks were deployed shortly after the president's departure to put down an apparent rebellion.

ADN Names Delegation Members

LD1605182389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Army, arrived in Berlin this evening for a 4-day official friendship visit to the GDR. He was greeted at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the state and party leadership.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, who is accompanied by his wife, Wubanchi Bishaw, was received with military honors. Erich Honecker and Mengistu Haile Mariam then drove to the visitor's residence, Niederschoenhausen Castle. Here the two state and party leaders held an initial discussion. The official talks between the two heads of state begin tomorrow.

In addition to Erich Honecker, the following were present at the airport to greet the visitors: Premier Willi Stoph; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; and members and candidate members of the SED Politburo Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Erich Mielke, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. Also present were Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and other members of the Council of Ministers, the SED Central Committee, and the State Council.

Accompanying Mengistu Haile Mariam are Foreign Minister Berhanu Baye; Deputy Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka; Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the WPE Central Comittee; Major General Mesfin Gebreyes, deputy defense minister and head of the Main Political Department of the Revolutionary Armed Forces; Major General Abebe Wolde Mariam; as well as other public figures and experts.

Honecker, Mengistu Begin Talks

LD1705085589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0833 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The representatives of the GDR and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Erich Honecker and Mengistu Haile Mariam, started their political talks this morning in Berlin. The general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the State Council received his guest, the secretary general of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and president of the East African country, in the headquarters of the Council of State in Marx-Engels Square. The two heads of state greeted each other fraternally in the foyer. Then Erich Honecker and Mengistu Haile Mariam went into the study of the chairman of the State Council for their first discussion.

Soviet Military Officials Greet Honecker, Stoph

AU1205184189 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 May 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin—Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], and Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the GSFG Political Directorate, sent the following message to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the National Defense Council; and to Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

On behalf of the Supreme Command, the Political Directorate, and all GSFG members, as well as on our own behalf, we convey to you, and through you to the entire fraternal people of the GDR, our cordial greetings on your National holiday, the 44th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism.

After the downfall of the Nazi tyranny, the working people of the GDR, under the leadership of their vanguard, the SED, started to energetically build up new life on German soil. Under the people's rule the GDR has become an upward moving socialist state, which quite rightly enjoys an international reputation. We can state with pleasure that, over the past years, relations of fraternal friendship, close cooperation, and comradely solidarity have developed between our parties, peoples, and states, which are continually being strengthened. The fraternal ties are near to the hearts of the GSFG members and of all Soviet people. We convey to the SED Central Committee and to the party and state organs of the GDR our deepest gratitude for the permanent attention and care they are devoting to the GSFG. Dear

comrades, we for our part would like to assure you that we will continue to guard our friendship like gold and strengthen it, and that we will continue to keep guard, side by side and in firm militant alliance with the members of the National People's Army, over the achievements of socialism.

We sincerely wish you and the entire people of the GDR, with whom we are linked in fraternal alliance, more great success in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR, good health, good luck, and well-being.

Honecker Discusses Meetings With FDJ

LD1605192889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the words of Erich Honecker, the Whitsun meeting of the GDR youth organization Free German Youth [FDJ] was a high point on the way to the GDR's 40th anniversary. It turned out to be a powerful manifestation of the younger generation's commitment to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] policy and to the socialist fatherland, a committed declaration of belief in peace, international friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity, as well as an unforgettable celebration of the joy of life, notes the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council in a letter to Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council.

The GDR state and party leader writes: "In the various meetings which Politburo members held over Whitsun with members of the youth organization, the request was repeatedly made to fulfill the wishes of FDJ members, who would like to be admitted to the SED. The Politburo has examined this matter and has instructed the leaders of the basic organizations of the SED to discuss thoroughly in the party collectives the FDJ proposals for admitting additional young comrades-in-arms to the communist fighting alliance. The admission of many of the best FDJ members as candidates for the SED will lead to a further increase in strength for our party and the FDJ in preparation for our 12th party congress."

Hager Speaks on Liberation Anniversary

AU1105150789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 89 pp 3-4

[Speech by Politburo Member Kurt Hager given at a festive event organized by the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the GDR National Front, on the 44th anniversary of the liberation from fascism in Berlin on 8 May: "The Obligation of 8 May 1945"]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

Since 30 April 1945 the red flag of victory, which was hoisted by the soldiers of the Soviet Army, had been fluttering over the Reichstag building. A few days later—on 8 May—the representatives of the fascist high command signed the unconditional capitulation of Hitler's Germany in Berlin-Karlshorst. World War II was over in Europe. The Soviet Union and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition and the peoples on our continent, who stood up against the fascist terror regime, had won.

For the German people, too, the day of liberation had come, the entanglement in racism and the visions of a master race, Gestapo terrorism, and suppression were over. A new chapter of history was about to begin.

This chapter was also opened by German antifascists, Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists, Christians, bourgeois democrats, the men of 20 July 1944 [attempt on Hitler's life], and the members of the "Free Germany" National Committee and of the Free German Movement. They were not able to overthrow Hitler's regime with their own strength, but they saved the honor of the German people through their altruistic struggle in illegality, in concentration camps, prisons, and as emigrants.

We Celebrate This Day With Everlasting Gratitude

Every year we celebrate 8 May with everlasting gratitude to the fighters of the Soviet Army and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition, to all those who brought about this day of liberation with their heroism—8 May 1945 will always be remembered by our people. (strong applause)

World War II—we commemorate the 50th anniversary of its outbreak in 1989—was the most terrible, most devastating of all wars to date. The toll of blood demanded by the fascist war of plunder and conquest was unimaginably high. The fury of war claimed more than 50 million lives. They were lost at the fronts, amid the hail of bombs, or were the victims of assassination and terror by the Gestapo and the SS. About 11 million people were killed in fascist concentration camps, extermination camps, and prisons, including millions of Jewish citizens and thousands of antifascists and patriots from almost all European states.

The Soviet Union carried the main burden of the war. It had to stand up to a devious, battle-tested enemy, who broke his word and attacked it with 5.5 million soldiers and, at first, superior military technology. In addition, fascist German imperialism was able to rely on the economic resources of the occupied European states. During the entire war the Soviet-German front was the decisive front.

This war was the toughest of all tests to which the Soviet state and the Soviet Union's social system could have been subjected. If this test was passed, it was passed because the peoples of the USSR and their Armed Forces under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, the CPSU, used all their strength at the front and in the hinterland, took up the battle with ardent patriotism and high

socialist ethics, and proved the superiority of the ideas of the October Revolution and of the ideas of socialism over the evil spirit of fascism.

Heroic Achievements by the Soviet People Mark the "Russian Miracle"

To a great extent, the foundations of the victory were laid already before the war. After the civil war, the interventionist wars, and the period of the New Economic Policy, the planned and accelerated industrialization of the country started in the second half of the twenties. From a backward country, the Russia of bast shoes, the Soviet Union turned into a powerful industrial state with a strong heavy industry. At the same time a basic restructuring of production conditions took place in the rural areas through collectivization.

Such heroic achievements of the Soviet people as the establishment of Magnitogorsk, Uralmash, and Dneprostroi, and many other enterprises, as well as the abolition of illiteracy and the comprehensive cultural revolution mark the "Russian miracle," which astonished the world and was accepted with enthusiasm everywhere by class-minded workers and progressive representatives of the intelligentsia.

Naturally, the building of socialism required that many complicated, new problems be cleared up. In practice, there were not a few difficulties and conflicts. The Soviet Union was surrounded by imperialist powers, which did everything possible to prevent the growth and flourishing of the first socialist country. Serious damage was also caused in the ranks of the Red Army by the reprisals and violations of laws, which were ordered by Stalin in 1937 and 1938 and cannot be justified in any way.

Facts Refute All Lies of History

Recently historians and journalists in the FRG have made numerous attempts to vindicate the Nazi regime of being guilty of unleashing World War II and, in particular, of being guilty of attacking the Soviet Union. Impudently, they claim that Hitler was encouraged in his adventures by Stalin, that he just anticipated an attack by the Soviet Union. The historical facts refute all such lies.

Since 1931 fascist Germany had purposefully striven to implement the plans to conquer the world, which had been worked out by Hitler at an early date and were approved by the heads of large enterprises and bankers. In reality, World War II did not start on 1 September 1939, on the day when Poland was attacked. Actually, it had already started with the Wehrmacht invasion of the demilitarized Rhineland, with the annexation of Austria, with the testing of the fascist war machinery against the Spanish Republic, during the defense of which more than 3,000 German members of the International Brigades lost their lives, with the Munich Dictate, and the surrender of the CSSR to Hitler Germany.

In the thirties the Soviet Union made great efforts to establish a system of collective security against the fascist Axis Powers. However, the Western powers rejected or ignored all its proposals. Even more, the fascist raptor was encouraged by these powers to act as the advance guard of an antibolshevik crusade. Even as the danger of war became imminent, the date for the fascist attack on Poland was already set, and the USSR Government most emphatically tried to establish a military alliance between the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, the Western powers stalled. This policy put the first socialist country in an extraordinarily difficult situation. It was threatened with total isolation and with a double-front war in Europe and Asia. With the conclusion of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty of 23 August 1939, the USSR took an unavoidable step to gain time.

Protest Against the Machinations of the FRG Neo-Nazis

It is fortunate for mankind that the Soviet Union passed the hard test and defeated fascism in 1,418 days of war. What would have become of Europe and of the German people if events had taken a different course, if Hitler's plans had come to fruition? This should be kept in mind by all those FRG politicians who do not think it necessary to stop neo-Nazi forces. Even though fascism revealed its disgusting, criminal nature once and for all, neo-Nazi, ultrarightist parties and groups are forming in the FRG, which have even been permitted to enter the land parliaments and to participate in the EC elections. They fan the hatred against foreigners, preach revenge for the defeat in World War II, and dream of a new advance toward the East.

Based on the bitter experiences with fascism, we categorically protest against these neo-Nazi machinations. We support with solidarity the active efforts of the antifascist and democratic forces in the FRG to stop the neo-Nazis. (strong applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

When, under the impression of the powerful demonstrations on 1 May and 1 day after the local elections, after the GDR citizens' clear vote for the candidates of the National Front, we pay tribute to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism by the Soviet Union and other states and peoples united in the anti-Hitler coalition, we become all the more aware of the historic significance of 8 May 1945. The socialist state on German soil and the support of its citizens for the further shaping of the developed socialist society undoubtedly have a causal connection with this date.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism freed the progressive potentials of our people, in the Soviet occupation zone it established freedom of movement for the workers movement and for all other antifascist-democratic forces. In accordance with the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam

and with the support of the Soviet Military administration, they tackled with determination the antifascist-democratic development and carried it out consistently. The precondition was the establishment of the unity of action of the workers class, the fusion of the Communist Party of Germany and the Socialist Party of Germany to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which took place in a democratic process and on the basis of Marxism, and the creation of an extraordinarily broad political and social alliance of all democratic forces in the spirit of friendship and cooperation. This alliance has always stood its test in the decades of joint work.

After 8 May 1945 all people were united by one goal: never again fascism and war, no repetition of the mistakes of 1918. Basic reforms—such as the land reform, the expropriation of the war criminals and Nazi activists, and education reform—were carried out consistently, reforms whose nature aimed at the most decisive overcoming of the fascist past and the irrevocable break with the social and intellectual roots of imperialism and militarism. While in the Western zones measures to deprive war criminals of their power, which had been legitimized by referendums or parliamentary decisions, remained on paper, such as in Hessen or Hamburg, because the occupation powers intervened and the West German reaction sabotaged these measures, in our country the fascist, militarist, and imperialist past was thoroughly dealt with.

Those in the FRG who now pretend that both German states have the same pent-up demand in coming to terms with the fascist past distort the facts. It is all too obvious that in the FRG the roots of fascism and militarism have never been touched, Nazi judges remained in office, and the monopolist capital has again been able to conquer the decisive positions of power.

Generations Educated in the Spirit of Antifascism and Peace

In the GDR fascism has been eradicated at its roots, generations have been educated in the spirit of antifascism, friendship among peoples, and peace. In particular because we have fulfilled and preserved the legacy of the antifascist fighters, we are very sensitive to all phenomena of racism, anti-Semitism, and hatred against foreigners, of chauvinism, and ideologies that glorify war. We will never tolerate such phenomena, because we know how things started in the past. This is an obligation to nip things in the bud, to be always vigilant, and to always prove antifascism in word and deed. (prolonged applause)

The liberation from Hitlerite fascism provided our people with the historic chance to remove the imperialist class society once and for all and to build a new society. From the very start, we received active help and support from the Soviet Union. This help started in the hour of liberation. Already on 9 May 1945 Comrade A. I. Mikoyan, member of the CPSU (bolshevik) Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, arrived in Berlin and personally headed emergency measures to save the inhabitants of Berlin and Dresden, the cities that were worst hit by the war. In his speech on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council said: "The current and future generations will never forget that hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers acted as true friends of the German people in May 1945 despite the incredible suffering that fascism had brought to their homeland. The experiences of the workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia of our country with Soviet Communists in uniform, who often shared their own bread with them, who stood at their side at the time of putting life on track again, and who finally helped them to govern themselves, removed prejudices and confusion and created trust. Thus, friendship among peoples grew, which can be as close and lasting only in socialism." (Footnote 1) (Erich Honecker: "Speeches and Essays," Vol 9, Berlin 1985, p 161-162)

The occupation period and the lack of national sovereignty were certainly not an ideal condition before the founding of the GDR. However, these were the consequences of the imperialist policy of plundering and war and of the greed for power of the aggressive heads of large enterprises and large landowners. The guilt of these classes resulted in the obligation for reparations. We have conscientiously fulfilled this obligation for reparations.

Firm on the Basic Positions of Marxism-Leninism

During the first years of new construction it was natural and explainable that we considered the path followed by the Soviet Union generally valid to a particularly high degree. However, over the 40 years of the GDR's existence its own characteristics have developed more and more strongly—not in contradiction with our Soviet friends, but accompanied by their support and advice. It goes to the historic credit and is an outstanding theoretical achievement of the SED that it has never deviated from the basic positions of Marxism-Leninism and from generally valid regularities of socialism and, at the same time, has always kept in mind its national particularities in determining domestic and foreign policy, economic, education, and cultural policy. Thus, socialism in the colors of the GDR developed. In shaping the developed socialist society we are following an unmistakable path, which is based on the material conditions, progressive traditions, practical experiences, and feasible possibilities which are available to the GDR's social forces.

The GDR's political system is unmistakable. It is characterized by the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the workers class and its cooperation with the friendly parties, the Democratic Peasants League, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National Democratic Party of Germany, of the National Front, which developed in the people's patriotic struggle against the imperialist policy of

tearing up Germany and has long become a socialist popular movement, by the great activity and responsibility of the trade unions, the youth association, the women's organization, the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, and many other democratic organizations and institutions. The preparation and course of the local elections impressively showed how the principle of our socialist democracy "participate in working, participate in planning, participate in governing" becomes living reality through the constructive, progressive participation of the citizens in social matters.

We have discovered our own paths in the development of ownership of producer goods. In addition to state-owned, social ownership cooperative ownership was and is of great importance. Its continued existence has never been called into question during our development. While in the past, three types of agricultural cooperatives were appropriate forms to develop a fully cooperative agriculture without nationalizing the soil, today the forms of cooperation are destined to perfect agriculture and further increase its productivity.

Together with the artisans' production cooperatives, independent craftsmanship and private retail trade have their firm place in our society.

We have learned to make the development of the productive forces, in particular the increase of the productivity of human labor, the essential yardstick of our advance. In this process, we also had to renounce some methods that did not stand their test. With the combines in industry, the construction sector, the transportation sector, and the bezirk-administered industry, that form was found that makes it possible to link the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist planned economy and to fully utilize the development and application of high and key technologies. This purpose is also served by the measures to closely interlace science and production.

Our Path Is Characterized by Continuity and Renewal

For years the GDR has had a dynamic economic growth. In the first quarter of this year the increase in produced national income amounts to about 4 percent. An unmistakable characteristic of this dynamism of economic development is the unity of economic and social policy. This is particularly expressed in the comprehensive housing program. The more than 3 million apartments that have been newly built or modernized since 1971 are proof of the successful implementation of this program, which provides millions of citizens with new, better housing conditions. The principles of social policy also include measures such as price stability for staple foods, rates, and rents, care for retirees, support for young couples, the education sector, health policy, and other guarantees of social security and protection.

The shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is based on the initiative and creativity of all classes and strata. It again and again demands answers to newly emerging problems. We have always faced the new challenges. This particularly applies to the development since the Eighth SED Congress. If one looks more closely at the path followed by the GDR, one can see that it is characterized by the unity of continuity and renewal. The persistent adherence to strengthening worker-peasant power, to the policy of economic growth, the unity of economic and social policy, but at the same time also reforms in management and planning of the economy, in state and law, perfection of socialist democracy, innovations in the education sector and in other fields—all this belongs to the long-term changes in our society. This is how the decisions of the 11th SED Congress are being purposefully implemented.

Our course is clear: It is economic growth, full employment, social security, socialist democracy, and implementation of human rights. This and only this goal is served by all political, economic, social, and cultural changes, which we are making today and will make in the future. (strong applause)

Concerning the propaganda efforts of Western media and other forces to push us from this course, if they like it or not, they will have to realize that we follow Dante's motto, which Karl Marx put at the beginning of "Das Kapital": "Follow your path and let the people talk."

At present, great changes are taking place in the world of socialism. In the individual countries—and it cannot be any different—a variety of forms and methods, of solutions to existing problems are developing in building socialism. This variety or particularity is not in contradiction to bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to the unity of will, or to the common goal to further strengthen socialism and safeguard peace. We proceed from the premise that every fraternal party and every people of a socialist country determine for themselves the course that is to be followed, and at the same time we advocate joint actions concerning all basic questions of the present.

Of course, one must not overlook that there are also forces interfering in restructuring and renewal that do not strive to strengthen but to eliminate socialism. This is and remains the strategic goal of the imperialist opponents of socialism and of other forces. Various methods are used for this purpose. What is presented as a direct attack against socialism by one side is supported with recommendations for "reforming" socialism, for weakening it from the inside, by the other. Of course, it is not admitted that this advice intends to replace socialist democracy with bourgeois democracy, planned economy with the so-called "social market economy," and socialism with capitalism, the system of profit-making and exploitation.

It Will Never Be Possible to Turn Back the Wheel of History

We are deeply convinced that no one will ever be able to turn back the wheel of history—no matter how strong the winds are—to destroy the foundation, the values, and the achievements of socialism, and to prevent the further strengthening of socialism. (strong applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

On the 44th anniversary of the liberation from fascism we again affirm the unshakable friendship that links our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and that links the SED with the CPSU. We consider this friendship, which is most closely linked to the establishment and growth of the GDR, as a historic achievement, which has to be preserved forever. The trusting and tested cooperation is deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the people in both countries. Any attempt to undermine the firm bonds between our peoples and parties and to fan opposition between us is doomed to fail.

After the victory over fascism the USSR's efforts had to be directed at reconstruction. The Cold War started by the imperialist powers, which aimed at containing socialism, required enormous performances to breach the U.S. nuclear monopoly and to establish a military-strategic balance. In the seventies a decline of economic growth and omissions in the social sector led to stagnation in the Soviet Union. Eliminating this stagnation was tackled with the course of restructuring and accelerated socioeconomic development, which was decided at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The Party of Lenin Has Courageously Started To Tackle an Enormously Difficult Process

The process of restructuring the economic mechanism, the political system, and the intellectual-cultural life serves the full development of all material and intellectual potentials of the Soviet Union. As Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet said, it is "a serious matter in the long run." In his speech in London on 7 April 1989 he said: "We have approached restructuring with open eyes. We foresaw the difficulties and the unusual characteristics of this process. We were aware of the fact that it will shake up the entire society to its roots. We have not made any mistakes concerning the most important questions. It is something completely different that the scope of many internal problems—political, economic, social, and moral problems—did not become obvious at once but only in the course of the initiated process. This requires ever new approaches and decisions and intense intellectual work." (Footnote 2) (Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev in London on 7 April 1989, TASS in Russian)

With restructuring, the party of Lenin has started to tackle an enormously difficult, complicated, but necessary process with courage and determination. We have repeatedly expressed our support for restructuring in the Soviet Union and have proved it with deeds. Our attitude was concisely and unambiguously formulated in the joint press release on the meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in September 1988. It says: "The SED and the GDR people express their unanimous support for the course of the CPSU to renew Soviet society. They are convinced that the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, as well as the success of restructuring in the USSR are of great importance for the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of world socialism." (Footnote 3) (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 September 1988)

At the same meeting Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to raise the relations between the GDR and the USSR, which are unprecedented in intensity and variety, to an even higher level. In this they based themselves on the common views on the basic questions of foreign policy and the building of socialism.

Since the founding of the GDR the USSR has been our largest foreign trade partner. The share of the USSR in the GDR's total trade amounts to almost 40 percent. At the same time, the GDR is the USSR's largest foreign trade partner; its share in the USSR's total trade amounts to 11 percent.

Great importance is accorded to the concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation through the year 2000, which was agreed upon in February 1989. With this concept the two countries are setting themselves new tasks that reach far into the future.

It is becoming more and more apparent that the cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union is increasingly determined by the widespread application and utilization of the key technologies. This is demonstrated by new special technical equipment for microelectronics and new types of microelectronic components as well as agreements on flexible automated manufacture, laser technology, biotechnology, and other fields of modern science, technology, and production.

The Militant Community Between the SED and the CPSU Is the Engine of Cooperation

The deepening of specialization and cooperation is increasingly based on progress in microelectronics and computer technology and the resulting integration of electronics and machine-building. It is a primary requirement for a high speed of production intensification in both countries.

Direct relations between combines, enterprises, and scientific-technological institutions are having greater effect to tap the potential of cooperation more comprehensively and efficiently in the long run.

At present there are more than 150 agreements on direct relations. With this about 50 percent of the working people in GDR industry are integrated in direct cooperation.

The militant community between the SED and the CPSU on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is increasingly proving to be the engine of cooperation. One can note without exaggeration that the exchange of views and experiences between the two parties has become increasingly concrete, business-like, and creative.

In view of the many new questions our parties are facing it is to be greatly valued that they have agreed on a long-term program of joint research in the social sciences.

This shows how intensive and trusting the ties between our parties and countries on the basis of unshakable common interests are. In this respect, specific deeds are very important. We are aware that the expansion of cooperation largely depends on each side's contribution.

There is agreement between the SED and the CPSU that every party responsibly pursues the policy that is required under the specific conditions of its country. To recognize this is a requirement of our time. Every manipulation that is aimed at changing this is in vain. People in the West should be aware of this.

The Alliance Between the GDR and the USSR is Unshakable

The joint press statement that I mentioned earlier states quite clearly: "The CPSU and the Soviet people wish the SED and the GDR working people further success in the implementation of the party's course which is oriented toward the unity of the economic and social policy, and in the fulfillment of the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress on the strengthening of the socialist German state for the benefit of its people." (footnote 4) (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 September 1988)

The alliance between the GDR and the USSR, between the SED and the CPSU is unshakable. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann, and Wilhelm Pieck always was, is, and remains an unshakable maxim of our action. (Lasting strong applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades!

The war ended in Europe on 8 May 1945. Since that day, mankind's hope for a lasting peace has been growing, as has the expectation that it will never again be threatened by the scourge of war. Owing in particular to the power of peace of socialism, Europe has experienced the longest peace period in its history.

Today the unique chance is offered to the Europeans to turn the longest peace period of its history into permanent peace. At no time since World War II have the opportunities in this respect been as real as they are today. In our densely populated, highly industrialized region not only a nuclear war but also a conventional war would destroy civilization. It is necessary to consistently translate this realization into politics.

It is no coincidence that the nations' hopes for a change in international developments as well as in European developments are in particular connected with the work of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries. Liberating the world from nuclear weapons up until the year 2000; the immediate removal of the chemical weapons; general and comprehensive disarmament on the road to a global, universal system of international security and cooperation—this policy of socialism, which was corroborated by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly, appeals to the nations. It has started a lot and has improved the international climate.

The historic treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles constitutes the beginning of disarmament. The Warsaw Pact states have submitted a comprehensive concept for the smooth continuation of the disarmament process. The three-stage plan suggested by the Warsaw Pact meeting on 11 and 12 April 1989 on a reduction in conventional arms and forces in Europe is an answer to the question as to how the two military coalitions facing each other can be made incapable to attack. Together with confidence-building, security, and verification measures, its implementation could liberate Europe from the threat of war on the threshold of the year 2000. This would undoubtedly be an example to the whole world.

The GDR has made an active contribution to all this. In the 40 years of its existence, the socialist state on German soil has proved to be a reliable factor of peace, stability, and security. This is shown by Erich Honecker's statement on the reduction of the number of troops of the National People's Army and the relevant military equipment, the joint initiatives of the GDR and the CSSR for creating a chemical weapon-free zone and a nuclear weapon-free corridor, the agreement between the SED and the Social Democratic Party of Germany on the military coalitions' incapacity to attack, and many other steps of common sense and realism in international relations.

The Peoples Are Impatiently Awaiting an Adequate Response From NATO

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our people from fascism, we are addressing all those who want to have a peaceful common European home,

so as to prevent the beginning of disarmament from becoming a victim of another round of the arms race. The statements made by responsible NATO politicians and military officials justify such concerns.

The well-known U.S. diplomat and politician George F. Kennan stated with alarm recently: "The observer is looking in vain for signs among responsible officials in the NATO capitals—London, Paris, and Washington—... indicating readiness to reconsider the existing NATO guidelines, in view of a changed Soviet policy. No significant changes in the NATO forces have been carried out or planned recently, nor does the West seem to consider a significant change in the current disarmament negotiations. On the contrary: Plans for the development of U.S. strategic nuclear weapons are being pushed and carried out at an undiminished rate. The prospects for achieving decisive agreement soon on a reduction in conventional weapons in Europe are more gloomy than they have ever been." (Footnote 5) (DIE ZEIT 21 April 1989) So far, Kennan.

The peoples are impatiently awaiting an adequate response from NATO to the Warsaw Pact's comprehensive disarmament offer. Words are not enough. NATO cannot dispel the widespread doubts about its readiness for disarmament by demands for further advance concessions of the socialist states, but only by making its own specific contribution. It is indeed not necessary to modernize short-range nuclear weapons or other destructive weapons.

The peoples in Europe and the world do not want a break in disarmament; they want disarmament without a break. They do not need a policy of strength, but a policy of understanding, a policy of peace. (strong applause)

This is also a challenge to the Federal Republic—more than it has ever been. It would be in line with the statement made by the FRG Government, that it is ready to create peace with fewer weapons, if it resolutely rejected the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons and proposed their elimination toward its U.S. and other alliance partners, without any if's and but's, and without postponing the decision to a later date. Bonn is also perfectly aware that the threat of this devilish stuff is solely aimed at the people in the FRG and the GDR. War must never again start from German soil, nor must German soil ever become a theater of war again; here peace must prevail once and for all. (strong applause)

Our Contribution to the Strengthening of Socialism in the World

In addition to giving priority to the ensuring of peace, it is necessary to clearly see the social, national, and political realities that have been created as a result of World War II.

Our experience has shown that relations between the GDR and the FRG have developed constructively whenever the FRG in practice considered the reality of the existence of two German states, and when these relations are based on the respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference, common sense, realism, and consideration for both sides' interests.

Even though welcome progress has been made in various areas of relations between the GDR and the FRG, the opportunities that were outlined during Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG, have not nearly been exhausted. Based on the Basic Treaty and the joint communique of September 1987, the GDR is willing to smoothly continue the expansion of relations and fill the statements contained in the two documents with life.

Comrades and friends!

More and more people in the world stake their hopes on a world without weapons and without force; they stake their hopes on the peace policy of socialism. Its ideas, proposals, and initiatives are in agreement with mankind's basic interest in peace and progress. They mark the substance of the epoch that we live in. Socialism is and remains the only possible alternative to exploitation, suppression, and lack of respect for human rights prevailing in the capitalist society. That is an obligation for us to do everything—alongside the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries—to make sure that socialism, no matter in which colors it is implemented, increases its effectiveness and brings its peace potential to bear in an even more comprehensive way.

By shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR, we contribute to the further strengthening of socialism in the world. That is the best way to honor the victims of World War II, all those who were killed in the fight against fascism. In this way we fulfill the obligation that results from 8 May 1945, the liberation of our people from fascism by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Never again fascism, never again war from German soil, lasting friendship with the Soviet Union, peace and understanding with all countries and peoples—this is and remains for the GDR the iron demand of action, the leitmotiv of its policy. (lasting, strong applause)

Agreement Concluded With FRG Trade Unions

AU1605165789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13-14 May 89 p 2

[Text] The delegation of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], headed by Chairman Harry Tisch, and the delegation of the National Executive Council of the German Employees Trade Union [DAG], headed by Chairman Roland Issen, met for final talks in Berlin on Friday [12 May]. The two sides welcomed the establishment of official relations between the FDGB and the DAG and the agreements that have been concluded to develop these

relations. It was noted that this step is more than up to date because it corresponds to the concurrent interests of the members of both organizations as well the responsibility of both German states to do everything to ensure that only peace, but never again war, will emanate from German soil. The shaping of their relations is based on their identical views with regard to assessing important, basic questions such as peace, disarmament, and detente, irrespective of the work in the differing social orders of the two German states.

Harry Tisch gave a detailed account of the GDR policy that is directed toward the well-being of the people and securing peace and which is actively supported by the FDGB. Tisch described the determined support for preventing war, halting the arms race, and disarmament as the urgent desire of officials that represent trade union interests. The representatives of the FDGB and DAG concurred in noting that there is no alternative to securing peace, disarmament, and a policy of dialogue and detente that is guided by realism. Both organizations further support the abolition of all nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The discussion of the growing tasks of the trade unions in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR was followed with great interest. In this context, Harry Tisch put special emphasis on the FDGB's active role in mastering scientific-technological progress in the interest of the working people under socialist conditions.

Roland Issen outlined the concern and the objectives of the DAG, which, as an independent organization, represents the interests of some 500,000 members. In this context, he referred to the successes that have already been achieved as far as improving the working and living conditions of the employees in the industrial, service, and administrative sectors are concerned.

As a result of the talks, the two delegation heads signed an agreement on shaping relations between the national executive councils of the FDGB and DAG.

GDR Policy on Issuing Passports Modified

AU1105140389 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 11 May 89 p 2

["zba" report: "Every GDR Citizen Receives Passport"]

[Text] Berlin, 10 May—For the past few weeks, GDR authorities have issued passports to everybody who applied for one. This has been reported by several citizens in the GDR. Until recently, the blue document was only granted to persons who had received permission to travel to the West. The issuance of passports is no longer linked with this precondition.

However, the possession of a passport does not entitle the citizens to travel to the West. An additional exit visa is required which continues to be granted only after the presentation of an invitation from relatives.

Those who want to visit relatives in Western countries other than the FRG need a passport, an exit visa, and an entry visa of the country they want to visit, which is issued by the respective embassy in East Berlin.

GDR Representatives To Attend Ecumenical Meeting

AU1205185389 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 May 89 p 4

[KNA report: "GDR Representatives To Attend Ecumenical Conference"]

[Text] Berlin—Approximately 80 representatives of the Christian Churches in the GDR will participate in the "Peace in Justice" European Ecumenical Meeting, which will take place in Basel from 15-21 May. The Berlin Catholic Bishops' Conference will send to the meeting 12 of its 700 delegates, headed by Bishop Huhn, apostolic administrator of Goerlitz; also in attendance will be 24 delegates of the Christian Churches in the GDR Working Group, which organized the preparatory meeting in the GDR which was concluded in Dresden in April. The Catholic Church is not a member of the Christian churches in the GDR Working Group, however, it fully participated in the assembly in the GDR via its "Justitia et Pax" (Justice and Peace) working group. Another 24 representatives of Christian fundamental groups will cooperate in the "European Future Workshop," which will be held in addition to the official deliberations. Moreover, there will be some guests, representatives of the press, and young people who will attend to the participants as "stewards" or "stewardesses." The organizers of the Catholic Council of European Bishops' Conferences and the Conference of Evangelical Churches, to which Evangelical, Anglican, and Orthodox churches belong, have jointly extended the invitation to the European Ecumenical Assembly. According to additional information provided by the Berlin (West) Ecumenical Council, three West Berlin delegates and one "pilgrims' group" of approximately 10 persons will travel to Basel.

Church Groups Say Regime Manipulated Election

AU1305195289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 13 May 89 p 2

["zba" report: "GDR Elections Manipulated"]

[Text] Berlin—In the opinion of numerous groups close to the church, the GDR "electoral system, which is controversial at any rate," has lost "its credibility" because of "obvious manipulation." In a public declaration on last Sunday's [7 May] municipal elections, the groups point out that the results disclosed by the chief election officers differ considerably from the published results. The examples given show that the number of published negative votes is smaller than the figures revealed by the chief election officers. For example, in one-third of the Prenzlau Hill polling stations in East Berlin alone, a total of 2,659 negative votes was made public; however, the election commission only registered 1,998 negative votes for the whole city district. The declaration deplores the fact that access to the counts, which are public under GDR law, was denied in several polling stations, among them Berlin, Jena, Erfurt, and Rostock.

Nemeth Interviewed on Government Structure
LD1305224689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 13 May 89

[Interview with Miklos Nemeth, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Politburo, by Akos Mester on 11 May; from the "168 Hours" program; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mester] You said at the beginning of yesterday's [10 May] speech that you should perhaps have restructured the government earlier. Why did you not do so? Who impeded you?

[Nemeth] Quite simply, the pace of work. For example, we have submitted over three times as many laws in these 5-6 months as either the Lazar or the Grosz governments combined in a similar period. I did not have time for this then, nor did I have people picked out back in March. It was then that it started to form in me roughly what kind of government strategy should be formulated—this is not yet the program, but the draft of the program—and what kind of people would be needed for this.

[Mester] Yes, but we both know as well as the listeners, the old mechanism whereby the government chairman will be told from somewhere who he should nominate. I recall this because it was also in your speech that the process began of making the government and the head of government independent. This also means that both the government and the premier are not yet completely independent, are not yet completely sovereign, it is only a matter of process. Perhaps I could also conclude that the premier's conception cannot fundamentally differ from the direction laid down by the party, because it is also a member of the party's leading body.

[Nemeth] I avow the separation of party and state as both a principle and practice. We are not yet there today, for in this sense, I, too, am a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party which is in power, a member of the party, and also the chairman of the government.

[Mester] So it follows from the situation that you as chairman of the government cannot make yourself completely independent of the party's conception.

[Nemeth] In any situation, when the elections come and there are several parties on the ballot, the party that wins the election or has a majority and say governs in a coalition—I think this is so the world over—is obligated to implement their party's platform. This will be the question of battles.

There are six new ministers. Nobody told me who should be nominated to which portfolio. I chose these people.

[Mester] Regarding the departure of old ministers: in today's situation it can only be established with difficulty whether somebody is personally unsuited to do the work, or whether the structure is such that the individual cannot do his work. [passage omitted]

[Nemeth] I admit that today the structure is still an impediment to this becoming reality. To a certain extent, it is also that individual people much prefer to represent branch or section interests even in the government. The ministers in the government must really be politicians for the government to really become a policy-forming power center in the true sense of the term. What you said in your question has all the characteristics of this tortuous transition, and is connected to this.

[Mester] It seems to me—and I would like to know your opinion—that there is a tendency for one-time party functionaries to occupy the important state positions without challenge; as if the party, recognizing the way the situation is changing, were trying to rescue its own people.

[Nemeth] That is indeed how it used to be. This seems to be changing now, and it is less and less a characteristic that the people working in the apparatus or in the party center get into appropriate, so-called high state positions. This is no longer a characteristic of the situation today.

[Mester] Since when?

[Nemeth] Well, in the last 4, 5, or 6 months.

[Mester] Oh, put that way, I agree. Of course nowadays positions are changed every 4, 5, or 6 months. That is a long time, of course. But if we take the past 18 months, and this has happened quite frequently, then we see that the people who are in these leading state posts were quite suddenly put there from the party center. There would be nothing wrong with this, for it is not necessarily a question of them being unsuited for the new work. What I consider to be a much bigger problem is that in the meantime a generation has grown up—I am not now thinking of those in their forties, but those in their thirties—among whom are some whose reasoning is clearer than daylight, fantastically logical, who differ from the previous generations not only in their thinking, in their concepts, but also, for example, in that they do not wear ties. That is not the problem; the problem is that these young men cannot get into the leadership because these places are already occupied.

[Nemeth] It is a question of time, and not a long time at that, that these young men will get into the leadership. We must strive—in the government and in the ministries—to bring in these forces which have different habits and different concepts.

[Mester] You refer to them as having different habits, different concepts, but I think we could even call them alternative thinkers.

[Nemeth] I have never felt there to be a pejorative connotation in the description alternative thinker, and I still do not feel any today. Without alternative thinking, without debates, without the open revelation of other alternatives, we will not be able to discover the good solutions.

[Mester] Yes, but what should happen with those people who for many years, decades, have been unable to alter their conceptions, who cannot think alternatively even today? Who even today believe that the leadership is a fiefdom which they hold for all time?

[Nemeth] We have to address them one after the other. Other times, other demands. In a civilized, humane manner, we have to offer them other functions, or pensions, but in any event, a place. But in any event, places must be found for the new forces.

[Mester] Right, but then I cannot help asking the very natural question; in my view it is not a thorny question, and it it this: That among these people, who, let us say, lack the necessary intellectual ability, the necessary rhetorical ability, the necessary power to convince, in other words, that among these people there are also those who are parliamentary deputies, who even now are here in the esteemed house.

[Nemeth] Everyone has the right, as an voting citizen, and so too have the organizations and parties which are being formed—but I would single out the electors first and foremost—that insofar as they see a need for change, they should avail themselves of these rights. Some of them do avail themselves of it.

[Mester] You mean, that they recall the National Assembly members or at least try to. Is it not embarrassing, let us say, for example, for the government chairman himself, to have happen to him what happened recently to Mihaly Korom? Partly I am thinking of the articles which exposed him, and partly of the attempt to recall him, and chiefly I am thinking that Dr Mihaly Korom is still the chairman of the Constitutional Law Council.

[Nemeth] As far as I am personally concerned, the government has nothing to do with the Constitutional Law Council. This falls within the competence of parliament and while we submit very many things to parliament, laws and so on, it is not customary for the distribution of parliament's inner functions—as to who should be the chairman of what committee—to be coordinated with the government. I consider this whole thing to be a natural process of cleansing. What happened here in recent months is happening still and will also happen in the future. We must make sure that we do not handle these matters in a barbarian, un-European, uncivilized manner, on both sides.

[Mester] Your government is committed to reforms. Now, on the other hand, from a reform-committee administration one can expect, in my opinion, that it take an active part in the transformation of the power structure. Yes, but the more actively it takes part in it, the more there is the paradoxical situation whereby it performs its tasks honestly only if it gets to the point where it liquidates itself and hands over its place to a coalition government.

[Nemeth] For the open, democratic, and free elections to take place—which we all await and which will come about—it is necessary that certain legal institutions exist. I believe that the government's duty is to prepare these conditions in order to make legal operation for the parties possible, in order to help them with the infrastructure, and in order that in this sense the government will build into the legal system the agreements that will evolve at the political discussions, which I trust will occur.

[Mester] But in this connection you made a very interesting observation in your speech [at the National Assembly session on 10 May] where attention was not directed toward this very much. You said the following: We should work on a proposal for the government to give financial assistance for the operation of the parties that are being revived. But you did not say how, when, how much money, or for whom. I would like you to tell us this now.

[Nemeth] Even in this difficult economic situation, we will find the necessary money for the minimum of civilized operation. I was thinking of buildings, of liberating buildings in the capital, and not on the city's periphery, but if possible in the center, where party life could begin.

[Mester] Who owns these buildings now in question?

[Nemeth] We are uncovering this. These are in state ownership. They belong to the ministries. They house offices. We are trying to initiate regroupings....

[Mester] Would you simply hand them over free of charge to the newly organizing parties?

[Nemeth] Well, in the transitional stage, we have not yet talked about the legal issue of ownership rights. In the transitional stage what I consider important is that we should offer something to all of them and pay for their telexes, telephones, and so on. Later on, when, at the elections, these parties become stronger, or they become the winners [laughs], or if they have a certain proportion of the votes, then we will have to return to the question of ownership rights.

[Mester] Will the government take this required amount out of the budget?

[Nemeth] Well, it cannot take it from anywhere else, only from the budget, yes.

[Mester] Have you any idea how much money is involved?

[Nemeth] I believe that the lower limit this year, and I am now speaking only about 1989, could be around 50 million forints, or thereabouts. But if demand takes the actual cost up to 80 million then we will have to give that 80.

[Mester] You have said that behind us there is a historical wrong turn, but you have not said what there is ahead of us. I would also like to ask a question that is perhaps more subjective, connected with your personal fate. Because you say, and I quote verbatim: I do not want to be part of any power struggle led by personal or group interests. You add: But neither do I want to be its victim. Do you feel that this could happen?

[Nemeth] Anything could happen in Hungary. The direction in which political relations are moving is impossible to calculate. I would not call it a power struggle, but I shall strive to see that this does not happen. This would also be bad for the country. I consider my own person to be of the least importance in this.

[Mester] Is it possible that certain forces of your own party marked you as a potential victim when you were appointed head of government?

[Nemeth] I do not suppose such a thing. It would be very ugly if such a thing had crossed anyone's mind. It is possible, I do not preclude it, that in very many things all the endeavors, all the activity I perform in the government, or we perform in the government here, is seen perhaps with furrowed, disapproving brows. I am, however, fundamentally, profoundly convinced that along the line of the consistent implementation of the reforms we are serving the good of this country, and as a matter of fact—and this is not a matter of subsidiary importance either—this does not (?go against it), we also serve the good of this party. So, it would be very curious if anyone were to take the approach: Let us trip him up and make him a victim. I think that this could only occur to a very few people, and if this does cross anyone's mind then he is really not a reformer and he does not stand on the side of progress.

[Mester] Mr Prime Minister, thank you for the interview. I am optimistic that there are very many, and they are the majority, who do not think this way. But let us nevertheless not delude ourselves that there do not exist people who think, well, this is a temporary period, this is a temporary head of government.

[Nemeth] I do not dispute this. I would like to prove with my work that I consider neither the government nor myself to be temporary. However, let the deeds decide and the let the people decide.

Politburo Member Ivanyi Interviewed on Reforms

AU1705093889 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 17 May 89 p 22

[Unattributed interview with Hungarian Politburo member Pal Ivanyi: "Communist Party: 'Breaking the Vicious Circle by Means of Opening Up and Orienting Toward Achievements'"—date, place not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Mr Ivanyi, in various leading positions you have collected sufficient information on the Hungarian economy. Recently you were mayor of Budapest, now you are secretary for economic affairs of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP). Do you think that the multiparty system will accelerate the economic reforms in Hungary?

Ivanyi: If all participants in social life stick to the rules of democracy, acceleration is to be expected because all parties have to respond to the economic problems. If the multiparty system makes the internal tension of society increase further, the development might be reversed.

DER STANDARD: Many people think that internal tension is increasing, not because of the multiparty system, but because of economic problems.

Unstable Domestic Policy, Unstable Economy

Ivanyi: I agree with you, but I would like to stress that economic difficulties cannot be solved by simply introducing the multiparty system!

It is very important that the parties express responsible opinions—this would offer a better chance to solve the problems. If the crisis were to deepen, this would lead to economic and social demagogy—in such a case the difficulties could hardly be overcome. An unstable domestic situation gives rise to economic instability.

DER STANDARD: The critics of the MSZMP always stress—and justifiably so—that you have not been able to implement reforms and that this has had serious economic consequences.

"The Serious Mistakes Were Made in 1972"

Ivanyi: We passed a government program, but situations may arise that make it difficult to implement this program.

In my view, the reason for the very difficult situation lies in the past: In 1972 we made decisions for political reasons that were unjustifiable in economic terms. Now there is no other possibility but to study the facts—and this study shows that the current model is completely insufficient to overcome the problems. However, it is naive to think that we can now simply use another model. Our problem is the following: If we advance in toward a market economy, we have to make many

difficult decisions which mean burdens—short-term burdens—for the population. The steps for the necessary modernization of our economy will further increase the tensions in society.

Dual Reform: Parties and Economy

Then there is another element of tension: our transition to a multiparty system. However, the MSZMP does not want to give up power in this complicated situation. Many people say that we have not restored unprofitable enterprises—but this would have meant innumerable unemployed and would have led to a further deterioration in the tense domestic situation. We are caught in a vicious circle.

DER STANDARD: Can the MSZMP be considered the engine of reforms in Hungary? Will the unpopular situation not strengthen the voices of the dogmatists?

Ivanyi: The past years have clearly shown that the party has been eager for reforms, in particular in the economic field. A personal tragedy for the members of the reform wing is the fact that a critical situation has now developed because reforms were not implemented.

But that does not mean that we do not want to go ahead: We want to renew the economy from scratch. First of all, this means an intensive opening up, introduction of a mixed economy, orientation toward achievements, reform of ownership, reform of budget, of the planning system, and of the monetary system, and a new social policy. There is no field of the economy that is not affected by these comprehensive reforms.

Heated Discussion About the Reform Package

DER STANDARD: In Hungary this reform package is discussed very much. Some people say that the party goes "too far," others complain that the reforms are "too slow." In your view, which fields are the ones that will give rise to most criticism and debates?

Ivanyi: I think that the reform of ownership is being heatedly discussed within the party. This can lead to complicated conflicts. I think the reform of ownership is a sensitive issue, because economic reforms are hardly conceivable without concentration of capital, and this presupposes a reform of ownership. However, in order to achieve these changes one needs trust—and without legal guarantees there is no trust.

If we discuss the constitutional state in Hungary, this also means the establishment of a constitutional state concerning the economy. It is not sufficient to raise the political instruments of society to the standards of a constitutional state—this change must also include the economy. We have to concentrate intensively on the establishment of laws.

DER STANDARD: What can the relationship between government and the MSZMP be in such a complicated situation? Can the party control the course of events—or does it no longer want to do this?

Great Autonomy of the Government

Ivanyi: Since the party conference in May 1988, the MSZMP has been granting great autonomy to the government—even though we continue to call this government "our" government. Today there are consultations only in the strategic field of planning, operational decisions are made by the government alone. Of course, in a multiparty system a coalition government may be formed. Only the future can show whether and how this will work.

Grosz Answers Questions at May Day Rally

AU1205115089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 May 89 p 7

[First installment in a series of unattributed reports on answers given by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to questions at a May Day rally in Budapest: "May Day Questions—Karoly Grosz' Answers"]

[Excerpts] Karoly Grosz answered questions at the NEPSZABADSAG Club held in the crowded Petofi Hall in the town park in the afternoon of 1 May. However, the allocated 1 and ½ hours were not enough to answer all the hundreds of written and local questions. Thus, Karoly Grosz will answer the most frequent questions of greater interest in today's issue of NEPSZABADSAG and in its issue of 8 May.

[Question] When will the full-fledged roundtable negotiations between the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the opposition take place? Can we expect a genuine agreement?

[Answer] First of all, let me correct the question. The recently formed opposition roundtable does not include all the parties and alternative organizations. Despite this, the MSZMP accepted the appeal of the roundtable for negotiations by saying that the goal of the preparatory talks, among other things, is to clarify who will finally sit at the negotiating table. It seems that opinions differ considerably on this issue. As is well known, despite its failure of 8 April, the MSZMP continues to encourage the creation of a multilateral national roundtable because it thinks that, in the current situation, a dialogue is needed among all the constructive political forces.

As for the timing of these talks, this greatly depends on the success of the preparatory talks. [passage omitted]

[Question] In one of your speeches, you said that well-intentioned Western crisis managers give us recipes that do not take our social conditions into consideration, and therefore, they are impossible to implement. What did you mean by this?

[Answer] I meant primarily that we should solve our problems and crises ourselves. Of course, this does not mean that we will not consider foreign experiences in "managing" various crises, but we have to deliberately apply these experiences to our specific conditions. We are now preparing for a change in our model. Our current model has exhausted its opportunities. We need a specific Hungarian model that is also able to function over a longer term. [passage omitted]

[Question] Following the nationwide party conferences, one can say that the party's leading guard is changing, and new first secretaries have been elected almost everywhere. In many places, people are demanding an MSZMP congress. Do you regard this as a justified request?

[Answer] No doubt it has also been formulated at the various party conferences in the country that one cannot imagine renewal without willing and suitable leaders. We can also see that people have withdrawn their confidence in many older leaders. However, we do not need a party congress only for personnel changes. My personal opinion is that the MSZMP is currently not ready for a congress and its comprehensive program is currently under preparation. There would be little sense in convening a congress that could carry out only half work. [passage omitted]

Second Installment Published

AU1305161289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 May 89 p 7

[Second and last installment in a series of unattributed reports on answers given by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to questions at a May Day rally in Budapest: "May Day Questions—Karoly Grosz' Answers"]

[Excerpts] Karoly Grosz answered questions at the NEPSZABADSAG Club held in the crowded Petofi Hall in the town park in the afternoon of 1 May. Today we finish publication of the answers given to most frequent questions of greater interest. [passage omitted]

[Question] What real chances are there for CEMA to indeed become a market organization in the near future? What can the Soviet Union and Hungary do for this?

[Answer] Both the Soviet Union and Hungary can do a lot for this, and we are also doing everything possible. We try to implement real market conditions, supplant political considerations based on unilateral advantages or multilateral disadvantages, and to replace false solidarity concepts with genuine cooperation based on mutual advantages. At present, the Soviet Union is a partner in our efforts in this direction, and others also agree with us on several issues. When the majority, or everyone, agrees with us on essential issues, then real opportunities will emerge for CEMA to become a real market organization. An essential first step for this is the creation of individual national markets, because, without them, there can be no common market. We would like to have such a common market not sometime in the distant future, and by all means, not too long after the strengthening of the Western market integration in 1992. [passage omitted]

[Question] How many people left the party this year and why?

[Answer] Precisely 15,572 people have left the party so far this year. Thus, the total number of party members exceeds 780,000. There are several reasons behind some people's decision to leave the party. Most people justified their decision by saying that they did not agree with the current policy or with the way this policy is implemented locally. Many people claimed illness or family problems as their reasons. A relatively small number of people decided to leave the party because of increased membership fees. Finally, I must also mention another group of people who did not justify their decisions, but, in our experience, there are political reasons behind their decisions. [passage omitted]

[Question] Are you afraid from factions in the party? If so, why?

[Answer] Yes, I am afraid of all kinds of factions, particularly in the communist movement. Factions have a negative effect on uniform and quick actions and predictability in the life of every organization, party, or movement. Nothing is more important today than firm action in order to implement our reforms. [passage omitted]

Imre Pozsgay Visits Vienna, Discusses Dam

Pozsgay on Reforms

AU1605103689 Vienna KURIER in German 16 May 89 p 3

[Georg Berenyi report: "Hungary's People Would Defend Democracy"]

[Text] The name of State Minister Imre Pozsgay is most closely linked with the reform course that was started in Hungary a year ago. In an exclusive interview for KURIER before his visit to Vienna, which will start today, he drew up a balance sheet of the first year of reforms.

As historical analogies to the events of the past 12 months in his country, Imre Pozsgay thinks of the path toward the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 and the turning away from dictatorship in Greece, Spain, and Portugal. "However, these events are only similar in scope," he says, modifying his statement. "I think that our peaceful transition from Stalinism to democracy is a

unique project. After all, it involves the creation of an unprecedented democratic socialism, with the emphasis on the objective democratic."

It is particularly a continuation of the experiment made at the 1956 uprising. "Even more," Pozsgay says, "because this time a total restructuring of society has been started."

According to Pozsgay, the goals set at the party conference have been overtaken by life in some points. "Pluralism, for instance, which we imagined within the framework of a one-party system at that time, has developed into a wide-ranging colorful party landscape; the way of thinking concerning some events of the past—in particular concerning the true character of the uprising in October 1956—has changed; we have embarked upon the path of reestablishing a constitutional state. That means that instead of correcting the course, a fundamental renewal of the system is being striven for. Today it is no longer the same system that we had a year ago."

Recently, former secretary Janos Kadar called the party conference in May 1988 a "putsch" in an interview. Says Politburo member Pozsgay: "At the change of leadership at that time the desire of the overwhelming majority, which considered the old leadership team as a burden, was fulfilled—in a democratic way unprecedented at similar events. It is understandable that the persons affected felt hurt by the change and assessed it negatively."

In Pozsgay's view, Janos Kadar, who has meanwhile been relieved of all his party functions, assumes a place as a contradictory personality in Hungary's history. "It is possible that not all of his actions are known to the public, there might be further revelations. His merits concerning the compromise concluded with the people in the 1960's—'Those who are not against us are with us'—and concerning a certain humanization of the Stalinist structures is opposed by his responsibility for maintaining the dictatorship and thus for the fall into the current crisis."

Pozsgay thinks that the renewal also has to involve the party itself. "The Jacobinic model should be replaced with a new style, fully respecting people who think differently, and using arguments instead of violence. Values of social democracy have their place in this party as have Communist ideals."

In no way does Imre Pozsgay deny that the current reform course involves risks, including the danger of an economic collapse. "Such a development would also call into question democratization. However, in the end it should lead to the insight that only a democratic society is able to develop economically."

Pozsgay sees risk number two—"with some anxiety, which is not normally my way of looking at things"—in the possibility of Stalinist restoration. "It would certainly be favored by an economic collapse. However, even in this case the people would manage to return to democracy—albeit at a bloody price."

Concerning the current relationship of power in the country, Pozsgay does not see a social basis for a turn to the right. "Also for a change toward Stalinism there might be at most a 'basis of violence' in some groups, whose members, however, are moving around among the people with downcast eyes and voice their ludicrous slogans only in their own narrow circle."

Pozsgay is also optimistic when he looks toward the East. "Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroyka is blessing us with a favorable wind behind us. The reform course in the Soviet Union and in China has an inspiring effect on crisis management in our country and in Poland or Yugoslavia, and possibly—at least I hope so—also in other East European countries, where there is no lack of crisis but only of readiness to admit it."

At the same time, he is concerned about the "phase shift" between the reform movement and the general formation of awareness. "It is increasingly difficult to make people accept even the best decision of the government in a reasonable way. We are confronted with a loss of trust. Not even the opposition has found a remedy for this yet."

According to Pozsgay, the way out of this situation leads via "the development of a completely new power structure—including elections—which is approved by the people."

However, the dedicated reform politician remains optimistic despite all worries. In his vision of the future "even a small country like Hungary, maneuvering around rocks and cliffs like a pilot vessel, could show other socialist countries the way toward the destination."

Pozsgay Arrives in Vienna

LD1605220589 Budapest MTI in English 2037 GMT 16 May 89

[TexT] Vienna, May 16 (MTI)—State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, arrived in Vienna on Tuesday afternoon. In the evening, he attended the introduction of the volume of studies published on the planned Vienna-Budapest world expo in German, as co-author of the book.

Prior to this, Mr Pozsgay held a discussion with ministers Erhard Busek of science and Wolfgang Schussel of economy about questions related to the preparations for the world expo and the Nagymaros project.

After the meeting, the state minister said to journalists that whatever the final Hungarian decision on Nagymaros may be, it cannot spoil relations between Hungary and Austria. Naturally, Hungary is aware of its commitments towards the foreign partners to the project and, therefore, it will initiate repeated talks. Possible decision by Hungarian parliament on the definitive stoppage of works should not cause damage to the Austrian companies and employees.

Interviewed on Market Economy

AU1705083089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 17 May 89 p 2

["vecs" report: "Pozsgay: 'Marxism Is No Blueprint'"]

[Text] Vienna—"Hungary wants to rise to Europe via the intermediate stage of central Europe," State Minister Imre Pozsgay stated on the occasion of the presentation of the book "Bridges to the Future" in the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna yesterday. The Vienna-Budapest World Exhibition, which is to take place under the motto of this book title in 1995, offers "fantastic and promising possibilities."

In the "spirit of European togetherness" (Pozsgay used a term which can be liberally translated as "European community") Hungary has to prove that it is able to integrate itself in the all-European process. This includes the "constitutional state and free political competition" in Hungary. In this connection, Pozsgay expects Austria to provide "fraternal cooperation." He hopes "that the style of the reforms is sufficient to achieve this, by the World Exhibition at the latest."

The "new Hungarian concept of state" must consider human rights as a starting point and the citizen as the controlling force of power. It is not the first time that "rulers and other social forces" are trying to achieve this "together." In Hungary's history "much has happened to dissuade us from the European idea." Even though now "one is not girded against this," one is at least "ready" for integration.

Pozsgay also vehemently advocated more market economy in Hungary. He said that he learned that money and market were "hellish instruments." However, the lack of a market or money is even more diabolical.

He has "never considered" Marxism "as a blueprint but as a method to approach the origin of things in a historical way," Pozsgay said after the presentation. Marxism can fulfill this function "also for people with different ideologies."

Comments on Nagymaros Halt

AU1605185389 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 16 May 89

[Interview with Hungarian Politburo member Imre Pozsgay by Karl Stipsicz in Vienna; questions in German, Pozsgay answers in Hungarian with superimposed German translation; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Mr Pozsgay, is there not the danger that, with this decision, Hungary considerably damages its reputation in the West—not only in the West but also in the CSSR?

[Pozsgay] Not necessarily. At its most recent session, the government announced a preliminary stop of the construction work, so that work that cannot be undone is not continued. Meanwhile, the political, economic, environmental aspects, and aspects concerning public opinion are being examined so that an objective decision can be made. Every country is entitled to do that, particularly if it invests such huge sums. This is of course a very delicate matter because several states are involved. During the present pause, the standpoints can be clarified together with the partners concerned and contracts can be renegotiated if necessary.

[Stipsicz] Was this not a purely domestic policy decision that has an impact on foreign policy now?

[Pozsgay] I think that every country where democracy prevails or that prepares for democracy must take into consideration the opinion of the people. There is no doubt that the Hungarian population does not love this project. It sees dangers, fears the destruction of national treasures and of the environment, and considers the whole project to be uneconomical.

Further Reaction to Nagymaros Dam Decision

Vranitzky Praises Decision

AU1605095889 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 16 May 89 p 2

[Peter Pelinka report: "The Chancellor: 'We Respect This Decision!'"]

[Text] "Of course, we respect this Hungarian decision and we will not use it as an opportunity to do something that is contrary to the spirit of good-neighborly relations between Austria and Hungary." This is how Chancellor Franz Vranitzky commented in an interview for NEUE AZ on the halting of the construction of the Nagymaros Power Plant on the Danube. The decision to stop construction was made by the Hungarian Government. "After all, the initiative for this building and for involving Austrian companies in this project was taken by Hungary."

Therefore, there are still some things to be cleared up in Vranitzky's view: "With every understanding for the development in our neighboring country, this is also a

question of the validity of existing contracts with Austrian contractors. There is a lot to be negotiated." How does he understand the reference to potential barter projects for Austrian companies in connection with the 1995 World Exhibition? "This is too general for me. One has to look at that more closely. After all, projects are not all the same." One thing is clear in any case: The Austrian chancellor, too, proceeds from the premise that Budapest's latest decision is to be taken seriously and does not believe that it will be revised.

Project Official on Compensation

LD1605222289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] We asked Peter Havas, the Hungarian Government commissioner of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, whether the basic contract obligates us to pay compensation or severance pay. Tibor Hollauer reports.

[Begin recording] [Havas] The 5.75 billion schillings were the entire sum of the venture. This was agreed on. Thus, there could not be such a demand in the event the project were halted. Mr Kreisky puts it better, because here it can only be a matter of the amount of damage that has been caused. This, on every occasion, is the debate when a party which has sustained damage has to prove the amount of damage, and why, and of course the partner disputes this.

[Hollauer] Who will negotiate with whom?

[Havas] Those who concluded the civil law contract will hold talks. They will be between enterprises. Thus, it obviously will be the party that concluded the contract. In this case it is the water affairs investment enterprise that stands face to face with Donaukraftwerke, but obviously, in the given case, if there were a halt to the Nagymaros construction work, this enterprise—it is acquainted in detail with the contracts and commission—would dispute whether there really is damage.

[Hollauer] Well, the industrialists and the chancellor have quite categorically stated figures.

[Havas] The chancellor gave an estimate, which, how should I put it, is only about damage, and naturally it is only the damage that has to be compensated.

[Hollauer] Could you also give a figure regarding how much Hungary is willing to pay and what it awaits from the negotiations?

[Havas] No, I cannot. If there were to be a halt, naturally we would have to protect our interests in everything, decently and honestly, but they would be our interests. I cannot put a figure on this now. [end recording]

Deputies Criticize Government

LD1605211989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Members of the Hajdu-Bihar group of deputies have sharply criticized the government for suspending the construction of the Nagymaros water barrage. They are of the opinion that it ought to be made public what new, hitherto unknown developments, led to the decision. If there are none, then the government must admit that it manipulated parliament when it reported statistics and analyses so that the construction work, which in the meantime was accelerated, should continue with approval from the National Assembly. According to the Hajdu-Bihar deputies, without the assent of parliament the Council of Ministers had no right to halt the work. For this reason, the National Assembly should call the government to account. They also demand that every investment that might be linked to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage be suspended immediately and that the sum released be returend to the budget.

Pozsgay Departs To Meet PCI's Craxi in Milan

LD1405220489 Budapest MTI in English 1855 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 14 (MTI)—On Sunday afternoon State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, left for Milan on the invitation of Bettino Craxi, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party.

Mr Pozsgay is to give a lecture at the international symposium of the Italian Socialist Party's Research Institute.

Meets Craxi at Congress

LD1505182589 Budapest MTI in English 1614 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Milan, May 15 (MTI)—Bettino Craxi, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, met Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and Pal Vastagh, members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee, who are attending the 45th Congress of the Italian Socialist Party.

Mr Craxi stressed that he has a very positive evaluation of the Hungarian reform process, and added he is confident about its prospects with respect to the creation of democracy and political pluralism.

Addresses Party Congress

LD1505212689 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Milan, May 15 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee, welcomed the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party on behalf of the

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in Milan on Monday. Mr Pozsgay noted: The Italian socialists represent a system of ideas which, with its European character, the humane handling and solution of affairs, offers several lessons also for Hungary. He stressed that the Hungarian reforms are irreversibly leading to the creation of a constitutional state, then set forth the main efforts of the transformation of the political institutions, the working out of the new constitution and the electoral law, mentioning the free elections and the creation of parliamentary democracy.

Apart from the HSWP, the forces that want a change and the reform generation of the party should enter into cooperation in the interest that this change in model be realized in the form of a peaceful transition, in a European way. We have no other choice, Mr Pozsgay stressed, expressing his conviction that in spite of the internal conflicts, the possibility of national reconciliation and compromsie exist in Hungary. As a sign of this, he mentioned that the re-evaluation of the 1956 events has taken place, that civic rights, free publicity have been restored, and the dismantling of the electric alarm system on the border which to date separated the two worlds from each other has begun.

Mr Pozsgay also called attention to the fact that this is not merely a Hungarian problem, or one that concerns only one region. "If we seriously believe in the thought of the unity of Europe then it is clear that all-European interests are attached to the success of the Hungarian experiment and reform", Mr Pozsgay said.

Pozsgay at Israeli Anniversary Commemoration
LD1405194889 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 14 (MTI)—The 41st anniversary of the State of Israel was commemorated at a meeting organized by the Hungarian-Israeli friendship society and the Judaistic research group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, Budapest, on Sunday.

Addressing the meeting, State Minister Imre Pozsgay stressed that what happened to Hungarian Jews nearly half a century ago is considered a loss and defeat in Hungary today. Then, he praised the heroic times when the Jewish people, who also had a lion's share in the creation of a European civilization and culture, founded their own state in the Middle East. The relationship between Hungary and Israel was not free from problems, Mr Pozsgay said. We hold in high esteem the thousands of Hungarian Jews living in Israel who still regard Hungary as their native country, though at the time it was unable to save them from harassment.

In connection with the two countries' relations, the state minister said that we proceed on a course towards building further the inter-state relations in an orderly, human manner. We want millions of people who have found their cultural identity to enter into contact with each other, not only with the help of modern technical devices but also through the free flow of people and ideas.

Shlomo Marom, head of the Israeli Interest Representation Office in Budapest, spoke about the struggle amid which people immigrating from many countries of the world managed to set up a democratic, free law state. Although a considerable proportion of economic problems still have to be settled, in his view settlement of relations with the neighbouring Arab peoples and the Palestinian population is even more important. This is the condition for the State of Israel to be able to focus efforts on building society. Israel is interested in having good relations with the countries of the world, and is hopeful about an early settlement of ties with Hungary as well.

Imre Pozsgay Attends Conference on Philosopher
LD1205210689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] A conference has begun in Szeged in memory of the outstanding Hungarian philosopher, Istvan Bibo, who died 10 years ago. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports:

[Ladanyi] The conference paying tribute to Bibo, which began today in the Szeged University of Sciences under the title "Nation and Democracy" is not about Istvan Bibo, but properly speaking is a scientific national roundtable in the spirit of Bibo's activity. The talks conceived in the mentality of Bibo have the purpose of serving the democratic reform of society. There is enormous interest in the conference. There are many participants from Vojvodina, sub-Carpathia, and Felvidek. The Magyars in Western Europe are also represented. Peter Kende, who came from Paris, has already spoken; Gyula Borbandi, editor-in-chief of Munich's UJ LATOHATAR, will give a talk tomorrow.

Representatives of several Hungarian political organizations and parties are also attending the event, and the editorial staff of nearly every important provincial periodical is represented in Szeged. Present at today's opening were Istvan Bibo's two children, Borbala, and, as one of the conference's sponsors, Istvan Bibo Jr. It was a surprise that Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, also honored the Szeged program with his interest. He said that he came to the event in order to learn, as a member of a nation which is compelled to self-examination, whose best people recognized in time the significance of Bibo; however, there are some who do not want to acknowledge this, he said. Indeed, they do their utmost to reduce the impact of Bibo's thinking on the people and the nation. In Hungary, which is now preparing for reforms, the name Bibo enjoys the greatest respect, said Imre Pozsgay.

Remains of Imre Nagy Exhumed, Inspected in Pecs
LD1605121189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The remains of Imre Nagy are being examined in Pecs. Imre Csuti reports via telephone:

[Csuti] In its latest issue, the independent weekly A HELYZET, published in Pecs, reports on the basis of firsthand information, and for the first time in our country, on the exhumation of Imre Nagy and his four fellow politicians. It is commonly known that the event occurred without publicity. The identification of the skeletons is now taking place in the same way, with the involvement of a Pecs expert, Dr Laszlo Harsanyi, a forensic expert. Hence, the reliable information in the Pecs newspaper.

The group, consisting also of archeologists and anthropoligists, has established that the skeletons are completely intact. Contrary to rumors, they are not broken in pieces. They have found on them only such signs of fracture which arose after burial. The lesions [seruelesek] could have been caused by the fact that three of the deceased were buried in plot number 301 some 2 and ½ years after their execution.

The four-man examining group will compile a report for the judicial experts within 2 weeks.

Abolition of Russian Language Teaching Demanded
LD1205172689 Budapest MTI in English
1319 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 12, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The Republican Circle demanded at a demonstration on Thursday that Russian language be removed from the school curriculum.

The education administration has for some time been considering the abolition of the compulsory learning of Russian and proposes to give Russian teachers re-training programmes from autumn. Although it probably will not be before 1992 that Russian can be removed from the compulsory school curriculum, a Ministry of Culture spokesman said on Friday. The re-training of Russian teachers is expected to cost 100 million forints annually for some four to five years, and the issue of financing the programme is still a point of debate between the State Office for Wages and Labour and the ministry.

The compulsory studying of Russian was introduced in Hungary after the Second World War.

Currently there are over 10,000 qualified Russian teachers in Hungary, and about 8,000 of them actually teach.

In the coming years secondary schools alone will have to deal with the re-training of some 1,000 Russian teachers.

Used Nuclear Power Plant Fuel Returned to USSR
LD1305172289 Budapest MTI in English
1633 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 13 (MTI)—Used nuclear fuel from reactor 1 of the Paks nuclear power plant has been returned to the Soviet Union after five years of storing.

The Soviet Union supplies fresh fuel for the plant's four 440-megawatt reactors and, under an inter-state agreement, takes over the hazardous waste unfit for recycling.

Pact With USSR Leads to Trade Increase
LD1505165989 Budapest MTI in English
1402 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 15, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Under an agreement signed recently between the Hungarian and Soviet parties on the expansion of goods exchange, which represents 23 million roubles' worth of deliveries on either side, the Soviet Union is to supply a further 100,000 tonnes of lead-free petrol to Hungary, more than the quantity fixed in the earlier agreement. Thus, the amount of engine petrol to be supplied by the Soviet Union to Hungary will grow by one third.

This is the first time the Soviet Union has delivered processed lead-free petrol to Hungary, a Ministry of Commerce official said today.

Under the transaction, aimed at expanding goods exchange, the parties also agreed on deliveries of a further 2,000 Ladas (mainly Lada Samaras), by the end of 1989. The earlier agreement foresaw the deliveries of 35,000 Ladas for 1989.

Hungarians are to deliver 4,000 tonnes of sausages and slaughtered poultry (including 3,000 tonnes of goose and 1,000 tonnes of turkey meat) to the Soviet Union in barter for Soviet deliveries.

Investment Guarantee Signed With Uruguay
LD1305173989 Budapest MTI in English
1648 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 13 (MTI)—The investment guarantee agreement between Hungary and Uruguary, initialled in Montevideo recently, expresses the intention of the two governments to encourage investments, provides guarantees for foreign working capital, and ensures the free transfer of profits and regulates the ways and means of settling disputes.

This is the first agreement to be signed by Hungary with a Latin American country and the first Uruguay has signed with a socialist state.

Krakow Protestors Demand Soviet Troop Withdrawal

Warsaw TV on Demonstration

LD1605182189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] These are scenes from Krakow. Early this afternoon radical opposition groups organized an anti-Soviet demonstration in the city center. It will be interesting to see what else these young demonstrators are going to do to contribute to better and full normalization of good-neighborly relations.

45 Arrested at Rally

LD1605223289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] An illegal youth rally was held yesterday [16 May] at the Adam Mickiewicz monument in Krakow's main square. It was organized by the so-called Student Action Freedom and Peace Movement. The demonstration was anti-Soviet in nature. The participants stressed in their speeches that it will be impossible to speak of the country's sovereignty and independence until Soviet troops leave Poland.

After the rally a small group formed and proceeded to the Soviet Consulate General building. A group of about 50 demonstrators sat down at the gate. Because the demonstration showed no signs of ending, the militia arrested 45 people. They were later released after their personal data had been recorded.

DPA Reports Demonstration

LD1605165989 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—More than 20 people were arrested today in front of the Soviet Consulate in Krakow during a demonstration against the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. According to participants in the demonstration, several dozen supporters of the pacifist group "Freedom and Peace" demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet units with a sit-in in front of the consulate, carrying banners and chanting.

They painted the slogan "Soviets go home" on the gate to the consulate and threw coins "for the return ticket" onto the grounds of the consulate. After 30 minutes the police intervened and forcefully removed the demonstrators. Most of those arrested were released a few hours later.

Withdrawal To Begin 'Shortly'

LD1705123189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1205 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland is to begin shortly, declared Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, during today's news conference in Warsaw. The first to be withdrawn will be a regiment of tanks stationed in Strachow in Legnica voivodship and a motorized unit from Swidnica.

Czyrek Begins U.S. Visit, Meets Personalities

Meets Bush; Senators Pell, Kennedy

LD1505215589 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Washington, May 15—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Secretary and head of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek has started his U.S. visit today. The visit provides for the top level talks with representatives of the U.S. Administration and meetings with the leading personalities of the U.S. political life.

On the first day of his visit Jozef Czyrek was received by U.S. President George Bush. Czyrek handed the U.S. President a letter from the president of Poland's Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Czyrek and Bush discussed prospects of Polish-U.S. relations. Particular regard was given to economic cooperation and President Bush's upcoming visit to Poland.

Czyrek informed the U.S. President on socio-political transformations taking place in Poland and on preparations to the elections to Poland's Sejm and Senate. President Bush with satisfaction greeted the results of the "round table" and spoke in favour of the continuation of reforms in Poland. He expressed pleasure over the possibility of visiting Poland again soon.

Also today, Jozef Czyrek met with the head of the Foreign Affairs Committee at the Senate, Senator Claiborne Pell and held a longer talk with Senator Edward Kennedy.

During his meeting with Pell, Czyrek informed him on the course and the outcomes of the "round table" debate and on the preparations to the elections to the Sejm and the Senate. Czyrek pointed to the fact that the setting up of the Senate in Poland can lead to establishing contacts between senators of Poland and the United States.

While stating that it is hard to predict the outcome of the elections, Czyrek said that the situation in Poland may be similar to that in the U.S. namely that the President is a member of one party while the majority of senators come from another one.

The head of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee expressed his interest in the development of the Polish-American economic relations and asked how the Senate could help in developing these relations. Jozef Czyrek pointed out that some moves of the (U.S.) Administration concerning the broadening of economic relations would

require approval of U.S. Senate and therefore, favourable position of senators would be of major significance for the process of improvement of these relations.

Further on Bush Meeting

LD1605133589 Warsaw PAP in English 1245 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Washington, May 16—U.S. President George Bush, who received yesterday senior PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] official Jozef Czyrek, said that he feels friendship and respect for Poland and that with genuine pleasure he will visit Poland at the invitation from our country.

Declaring that the United States is for dialogue and reconciliation in Poland, President Bush expressed hope that his visit to Poland will be conducive to the process of reforms and national agreement.

The White House acknowledges the fact that the President's visit to Warsaw is to take place in the time of very important developments in Poland and that it will be of historic character, especially in view of further extension of the Polish-American relations.

President Bush showed keen interest in the Polish economic problems and stressed importance which the U.S. attaches to the efficient realization of economic reforms as a significant factor in the process of changes in Poland.

Bush received Czyrek in the company of the U.S. chief advisors for foreign policy - Secretary of State James Baker, security advisor General Brent Scowcroft and his deputy Robert Gates and senior officials of the U.S. Department of State, which the diplomatic protocol experts acknowledged as a special treatment of the Polish guest in the White House.

The talk passed in a very warm atmosphere.

Czyrek Meets Eagleburger, Others

LD1605220489 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Washington, May 16—On the second day of his stay here, Political Bureau member, PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee secretary, head of the Sejm (parliamentary) Committee for Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek held talks with government members and congressmen on the Polish-U.S. relations and some international issues.

Czyrek held today at the U.S. Department of State a talk with the First Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. The two concentrated on Polish-American relations in the context of the preparations for the Polish visit of the U.S. President George Bush.

Also today, Czyrek met with Chairman of the Subcommittee for European Affairs of the House of Representatives L. Hamilton and Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee for European Affairs Senator J. Biden.

Discussed were issues concerning European cooperation and the U.S. stance on the increasing dialogue of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO on conventional arms reduction and expanding cooperation.

Baker Talks in Moscow Termed 'Step Forward'

AU1605132489 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 May 89 p 4

[Ryszard Bankowicz commentary: "A Step Forward"]

[Text] The results of Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Moscow reflected the expectations that preceded the American visitor's talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze. So there were no surprising announcements and the outcome of this exchange of views between Moscow and Washington contains decisions that could provide an impetus to dialogue between the two powers, as well as the postponement—dictated by a feeling of realism—of certain other steps until some point further in the future.

It was decided to resume the START negotiations on halving the strategic weapons of the two powers. These negotiations, which were suspended last fall in view of the U.S. presidential elections and were not resumed this February contrary to announcements, may produce a fundamental breakthrough in the nuclear weapons field. However, it does not appear to be the case that the Moscow decision on the resumption of the START talks has been accompanied by any solution that would rapidly remove the main obstacles in the Geneva negotiations. These obstacles center on how to count sea-launched missiles, how to treat missiles launched from mobile delivery systems, and how to reconcile START with SDI, that is, the "Star Wars" project. The debate on strategic weapons will begin in June, but it will undoubtedly proceed slowly and with difficulty to begin with.

Baker also discussed regional conflicts with his Soviet hosts. The main issues were Afghanistan (and American aid for the armed opponents of the Kabul authorities) and Nicaragua (and Soviet support for the Sandinists). The understanding that those taking part in the talks displayed toward each other was not synonymous with an identity of views, which also applies to the question of the future of shorter-range nuclear weapons.

The participants in the American-Soviet dialogue are not wearing seven-league boots. There has been a step forward. That is a lot, although international opinion would like significantly more, if only the setting of a date for another summit meeting.

Orzechowski Speaks in Katowice on Elections

LD1505204489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] The forthcoming elections were one of the main subjects of talks conducted by Marian Orzechowski, who is visiting Katowice Voivodship today. Over to Slawomir Herman:

[Herman] We have just finished a meeting with the Katowice Voivodship political aktiv. One must admit that many subjects were raised in this hall, but I think that issues related to the election campaign gave rise to the most emotions. I presume that the aim of your visit is, among other things, to explain all problems connected with the election campaign.

[Orzechowski] My aim was a little more modest. I would like to acquaint myself with preparations for the election campaign, the condition of the party aktiv, and the status of the party before the elections, referring to the recent status. I would like to reply to questions and doubts that crop up in this regard. I would like to meet with those who are involved with subjects of particular interest to me, with those involved in science and education. I would like to meet the ideological and political aktivs.

The fundamental observation that comes to mind after the meetings here at the Katowice Voivodship is based on the fact that the aktiv—and I believe wider circles of party members—are aware of the importance of these elections and are aware that the elections will be different than usual. I believe the aktiv and others are aware that much will depend on the elections, that they will be a test for the entire party, a great examination, as well as an opportunity, and that the party will go to the elections conscious of its responsibility for the elections and for the future of the country. The party is collecting arguments and is educating itself. Among other things, the party is learning how to conduct the political struggle in confrontation with the use of arguments, and a novel, new way of speaking and presenting its programs, ideas, and its people, [words indistinct].

I have come out from the first meetings with an impression that the Katowice party organization knows the significance of the elections and is preparing itself for them in all possible areas and platforms to cope with the tasks.

Barcikowski Interviewed on Religious Policy

AU1605142489 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party and deputy chairman of the State Council, by Witold Pawlowski: "Upward"—date, place not given]

[Text] Witold Pawlowski: Is it a coincidence that the legalization of "Solidarity" as a result of the "roundtable" and the end of 9 years of work on three bills on church-state relations have occurred at the same time?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: There is no direct connection between the two, but there is no doubt that the "roundtable" encouraged the completion of this work. This was the subject of my "roundtable" team, the team for church-state relations.

Witold Pawlowski: Did it take a certain length of time for the authorities to reach decisions that led the way to an accord with the church, just as the 10th plenum reached decisions that led the way to political pluralism?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: No, this time accord was reached at a different pace. The Joint Government-Episcopate Commission met a total of 50 times during the 9 years of talks. We sought solutions to minor and major problems. The process of rapprochement was a continuous one. The first bill was ready in 1983. It was not rejected, but frozen, and then thawed out at the beginning of 1985. We commenced talks. Many times we concluded that we ought to provide these solutions with a final legal shape. In case the authorities or the church felt stronger, and either side attempted to ask for more, destroying what had been jointly achieved with so much hard work...

Witold Pawlowski: But never since the war has the church enjoyed such a good position as today.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: It is difficult to say who felt stronger and at what times. Of course, the church has felt itself to be in a strong position all the time. But it has also known that exploiting this position to suit a temporary situation leads to no final solutions. Even when many people expected the church to take advantage of favorable situations and impose conditions, the church leadership refused to do so and called for moderation instead.

Witold Pawlowski: So, after 9 years, to whose starting position are the two sides closer? Which side has made more concessions, and which side has gained more?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: I am frequently asked that question. It is a misleading and confusing one; misleading because we are establishing relations with the church after a great collapse, after a period of Stalinism, a period of arrests of clergymen, closures of churches, and confiscation of church property. Therefore, before it was possible to talk about normalization and the future, it was first necessary to settle old accounts and shake off the chains that burdened our relations. That is why neither side commenced the talks with a healthy account. So who gained more? I do not want to sound pompous, but everyone did. Society gained—because a normalization of relations with the church is removing one of the sources of social antagonism.

Witold Pawlowski: Have relations between the party and the church improved over the past 9 years? If so, how?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: Let me begin by saying that the party has traveled a long road during these years. I realize this especially when I remember how, as joint chairman of the Government-Episcopate Commission, my colleagues criticized me for adopting a harsh attitude toward the church side. The 10th plenum showed how much the party's attitude toward the church and religion has changed. It admitted that believers may belong to the party, and that one should not harbor ill feelings because of this. My church partners say, and my own experience confirms it, that a similar process of acquaintanceship and rapprochement was taking place on the church side. As contacts between the church and the state improved, the people of both sides got to know each other. The first secretary of the voivodship party committee began to be understood by the local bishop, and the bishop no longer viewed the party secretary as an anti-Christ. In fact, this bishop even began to cooperate with the militia, for example during the pope's visits. Perhaps I am idealizing the situation, but this fabric of contacts and normalization that has been woven in the eighties is real.

Witold Pawlowski: Let us return to the talks as a way of alleviating social tension. You have vivid experience in this sphere, beginning with the strike in the Szczecin shipyard. Afterward, you became a professional negotiator and led to the conclusion of the longest, if not the most difficult, talks in postwar history. Yet the idea of negotiations is alien to the times in which you were born, in which the world was divided into allies and enemies. There was no need to talk to allies, and talking to enemies was forbidden.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: You are oversimplifying matters. After the war, people belonging to various schools of thinking joined the revolution, and they did not all abandon their culture. I, for example, used to be in the Home Army. I knew one had to talk, and that it was very important to do so. People of other backgrounds thought the same. However, there was no chance of this talking providing specific results. Why did 1956 end differently in Poland than in Hungary? Because in Poland we talked. If one is not in favor of the use of force, the only solution is dialogue and compromise, which give neither side a feeling of triumph, but nevertheless protect the most important interests, which neither side wishes to abandon. That is not easy. But when one considers how much trouble is being avoided this way, it is by far the easier path. The art of negotiations involves convincing the partner that he is receiving all that he can possibly receive right now, and that there are reasons why he cannot receive everything.

Witold Pawlowski: Just as the decisions of the 10th plenum encountered major opposition, so too can the Church Act encounter opposition from the same people. They might say that the authorities are making too many concessions, that they are eradicating differences, and that they are wooing the church because they see it as a potential partner.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: Yes, there might be opinions like this, but I do not think they would meet with major support from society. I discuss these topics at party meetings...

Witold Pawlowski: ...And what are moods like at these meetings?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: Most people are receiving news about the normalization of church-state relationships with a sigh of relief, as if it were a release from an embarrassing situation and a victory by common sense. However, if the line of accord begins to waver for any reason, those forces that criticize the party leadership for ineffective action will become stronger. In life and in politics, nothing is given once and for all. Everything is subject to change. Very frequently, an insignificant event can change social moods profoundly.

Witold Pawlowski: I think the church also considers the Church Act to be a safeguard against worse times and conditions.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: The act provides legal status, in other words permanence, to many existing provisions. It also creates new ones. For example, in accordance with the act, the present papal faculties of colleges will become colleges in their own right. It provides social security for all clergymen of all denominations. Therefore, the last social milieu with no social security will disappear.

Witold Pawlowski: In January 1978 Cardinal Wyszynski addressed three demands to the authorities: legal status for the church, permission for Catholic associations to exist, and a genuine church press and publishing house. How far does the present act satisfy these demands?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: The Associations Act provides such extensive liberties that one cannot ask for more. For the church, the act's recognition of religious organizations is an important fact. Also, the Catholic press has far greater possibilities than during Cardinal Wyszynski's time. As far as the church's legal status is concerned, the very act itself confirms it.

Witold Pawlowski: The church has abandoned the idea of a concordat, and has recognized its separation from the state.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: It is not just the Polish church that has done so, but the whole Catholic Church.

Witold Pawlowski: Cardinal Macharski was your partner, and you also held talks with Archbishops Stroba and Dabrowski. What have all these years of contacts taught you?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: In the beginning, our talks were tough because there was a collision between two different languages, the language of theology and philosophy, and

the language of economics and sociology. Each side possessed its own ideas, and each seemed to be moving in its own dimension, as it were. Also, each side had its own different feeling for time. We were under pressure from events and from tasks that had to be commenced, whereas the church side was motivated by different needs and proceeded at its own pace.

Witold Pawlowski: What place do you see for the church in the new landscape of socialist parliamentary democracy, as we now call it?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: There are no ready ideas about this. We are still facing an unknown quantity. But if anyone thinks the church will take a direct part in political life, he is mistaken.

Witold Pawlowski: That conforms to the old church thesis, upheld by Cardinal Wyszynski, whereby there are Catholics everywhere, so a Catholic political party is not necessary.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: No, I meant something else. The church is intent on preserving its links with everyone, regardless of his political leanings, in order to fulfill its spiritual mission. That makes it impossible for the church to pursue any one path of politics.

Witold Pawlowski: But does the disappointment of many Catholics in the way in which opposition candidates for the Sejm and Senate are nominated, not to mention the absence of Catholics at the "roundtable" and in the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee, not increase the temptation to establish a Christian Democratic Party?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: Perhaps you should realize the part played by the church in the "roundtable." The church was a witness and mediator there. That is the church's modern role. In addition to our terrestrial dimensions of forward, backward, left, and right, the church has one more dimension that is the most important one for Catholics—up, toward God. Naturally, the pope and the episcopate were interested in the "roundtable," which they described as an expansion of the social platform in which various organizations may function, including those that are guided by the church's teachings. It is possible that a Christian Democratic Party will emerge one day, but it will not be a party of the church, but a party of lay Catholics. Cardinal Wyszynski formulated his thesis at a time when parties of Catholics were unthinkable. Thoughts on this subject are now changing, and will continue to do so.

Witold Pawlowski: Do Communists bear a grudge against the church because it has withstood the test of time, whereas they are having trouble?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: Do you think the church has no troubles? Both sides have their grudges. The joint talks are eliminating them.

Witold Pawlowski: Professor Geremek said in an interview for POLITYKA that "Solidarity" is the child of Stalinism. Is not the church a child of Stalinism as well, at least partly? Would that not explain its popularity and role? Has it not been strengthened by the persecution it suffered?

Kazimierz Barcikowski: Before the war, religious involvement in Poland was far greater than it is today, so let us not credit Stalinism with consolidating the church. However, there is no doubt that the church grew stronger during the time of struggle. The "besieged fortress" philosophy has its own laws. These matters are of importance, but not of the greatest importance for the phenomenon of Polish Catholicism.

Witold Pawlowski: Are we not in danger of proceeding from one abnormality to another? Previously, the church was maltreated under Stalinism. Now it is not possible to talk about the church in a normal voice. Today, speaking about the church in public implies criticism. Certain voices are silenced, so that the feelings of others are not upset. I also have in mind the danger of intolerance toward non-believers or members of different religions.

Kazimierz Barcikowski: There is one bill we have not discussed, the bill on freedom of religion in Poland. Its purpose was to provide a feeling of security for members of smaller denominations that genuinely felt threatened and felt that we were reaching an accord with the Catholic Church at their expense. Therefore, we created an extra bill, one regulating the entire sphere of religious relations.

As for practice, the new sociopolitical order will be the way society wants it to be. That means if that someone wants to speak out in favor of or against the Abortions Act, he will have every right to do so. Society must decide for itself, for no one will decide for it. There are many examples of life being dominated by just one of its components. We know this from our own past. We must assume that common sense, maturity, and tolerance will triumph. Everyone must want to retain his identity. At meetings, I hear people suggesting that priests should not be allowed to collect money for the building of churches. My answer is: You don't go to church, so don't pay. You don't have to pay, but let others pay if they want to.

I mean it when I say that a complete, in other words legal, recognition of the Christian current of our life has provided new strength to secular streams, and that in this sphere the various different traditions will be continued, thus enriching our lives and culture.

Delegates Adopt Resolution on PZPR Position

AU1605122089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 May 89 p 3

[Resolution adopted by the Second National Conference of Polish United Workers Party Delegates in Warsaw on 5 May: "Poland in the Modern World"]

[Text] I. The Second National Conference of Delegates of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] endorses the

international activity of the Central Committee, activity which is in accordance with the policy marked out at the 9th and 10th congresses.

The basic aim of this policy is the protection of the vital interests of the nation, the sovereignty of the state, and its territorial integrity and peaceful development. The experiences of the recent past have confirmed that Polish foreign policy is a part of the mainstream of changes occurring in contemporary international relations. The essence of the changes is a more widespread understanding of the primary importance of problems which spring from global dangers, and on whose solution the survival of civilization depends. The emerging superiority of general human values has set the task of transforming a philosophy of hostility into a philosophy of interdependence.

There is widespread growth of the awareness that a nuclear war would mean the end of humanity, and this means that nuclear weapons are ceasing to be an instrument of politics. Nevertheless, there exist other global dangers, for example, problems of food shortages, of ecology, of energy, and overpopulation.

To cope with these challenges of history, we have to succeed in fundamentally restructuring international relations. There can be no place in politics for the use of force or its threat in the resolution of disputes and conflicts. The complex reality of today's world demands the working out of new principles governing international relations, based on the concept of common and national security. This philosophy of thought about today's world lies at the base of our country's activity on the international arena.

II. A fundamental factor in the improvement of the international atmosphere is the revolutionary restructuring which is taking place in the Soviet Union. This is having a stabilizing effect on the world, most evident in the Soviet-American accords and in the entire evolution of East-West relations.

This shift in East-West relations acts as a favorable influence on the atmosphere of our immediate environment in Europe. Considering ourselves jointly responsible for the fate of our continent, we are making a constructive input to the current CSCE process. In the European dialogue we are putting forward original initiatives which serve to deepen this debate, initiatives such as the Jaruzelski Plan, which has arms reduction and the increase of confidence in central Europe as its aim.

We are trying to contribute creatively to the construction of our common European home as a permanent structure of peaceful cooperation between all the countries of our continent.

The conference of delegates believes that while continuing this path of foreign policy one should aim to create permanent links of cooperation with all states and international institutions in the political, economic, cultural, and scientific spheres, and establish social contacts concerning the observance of human rights. This should encourage favorable external conditions that are free of discrimination and restrictions, and should also encourage comprehensive cooperation that permits the overcoming of difficulties and the country's socioeconomic development.

Relations with the socialist states have entered a new phase. The basis for these relations is created by the unity of the objectives and challenges which the socialist world is facing, while recognizing and respecting national interests. Particularly close relations join us to the USSR. Today these relations are determined not only by historically confirmed interests that guarantee the foundations of national existence, but also by a similarity of the changes and the mutual support given to them.

The conference supports the deepening of relations with socialist states with the aim of giving such relations concrete substance in all spheres, and the inculcation of new direct forms of political, economic, scientific, cultural, and ecological cooperation into the general process of bringing societies together.

The PZPR is developing wide contacts and joint activities with all left-wing and progressive forces and groups, especially in Europe. We are developing broad relations with communist and workers parties in the sphere of our joint endeavors to build a world free of war and armaments, a world of humanitarian and democratic values and of respect for human rights, and a world which accepts the right of every nation to freely chose its own path of development.

In a spirit of partnership and mutual respect for each other's different views, we are developing contacts and constructive dialogue with social-democratic and socialist parties, and other democratic groups. These contacts serve to preserve peaceful stability in the world, and defend the values of civilization and culture.

The broad stream of dialogue and joint action by the forces of the left should be developed and given a concrete form.

III. Poland is implementing profound political and economic reforms. Foreign policy and international activity are an integral part of this process of reform. The shaping of a model of socialist parliamentary democracy and other forms of people's democracy in a civic society is opening the way for the participation of all political forces and the mass of citizens in the working out and implementation of a sovereign Polish foreign policy, based on the Constitution and national interests.

The conference of delegates believes that the PZPR should be the active initiator of broad dialogue in this very important sphere, between independent groups, organizations, and other social milieus.

Power Supply Workers Stage Strike Over Wages

LD1605195989 Warsaw PAP in English
1825 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 16—Employees of the power supply service Warszawa-Miasto here went on strike today. The strikers stopped work in all technological sections of the station and district collection offices. The only functioning—in breakdown cases—are the emergency groups.

The strikers forward pay demands of increasing hour rates by some 80 per cent, director Zygmunt Lojszczyk told PAP.

A strike committe which has been set up is not affiliated to any trade union organisations. Management of the power supply service cannot fulfill the employees' demands as its debit balance for four months of this year already amounts to as much as one billion zloties.

The talks between the employees and the management are under way.

Walesa Confers With Democratic Party Chairman

LD1605210389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] [Words indistinct] at 1000 in the Royal Castle, in Professor Aleksander Gieysztor's office. Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, and Lech Walesa held their first meeting, initiating cooperation between both chairmen.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] (?Do you want to set up) a Solidarity-Democratic coalition, gentlemen?

[Walesa] No. We want to implement the roundtable agreements, which open up real new opportunities for Poland.

[Correspondent] Then what was the subject of today's meeting?

[Walesa] How to implement the roundtable better.

[Jozwiak] To consistently implement the roundtable decisions.

[Correspondent] I see by your faces that the talks were a success, gentlemen.

[Walesa] Yes, I must say I'm pleased, because I always thought that better ways for Poland have to be sought by way of talks, by way of arguments.

[Correspondent] That's democratic.

[Jozwiak] It's our common interest, the interest of all Poles, regardless of what political groups they belong to. [end recording]

Further on Meeting

LD1605205689 Warsaw PAP in English
1710 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 16—Chairman of the CC [Central Committee] of the Democratic Party (DP) Jerzy Jozwiak and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa met at the Royal Castle here today to brief each other on activities for realization of round table settlements.

Walesa voiced the conviction that an increase in the DP role in the country's political life should contribute to fast progress in the process of democratization and economic reforms within round table decisions.

Jozwiak stressed that his party had been long and consistently coming in favour of union pluralism and development of political democracy.

Both interlocutors decided to continue mutual contacts.

Commenting on the meeting, DP spokesman Adam Wysocki pointed to the fact that the talks were the first between Walesa and representatives of the leadership of the co-ruling Coalition Party.

According to the spokesman the Royal Castle was not accidentally chosen as the place of the meeting as it is a symbol of Polish independent statehood as well as of peaceful cooperation between all Poles, both in Poland and the world, for overcoming the ravages of the war.

Jozwiak's talks with Walesa, held the day after an important working meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski, testify to growing activeness of the DP and a significant political role it plays in this country now.

What is clear and obvious today was neither obvious nor understandable for many years. Necessary were many essential transformations, many deep reflections, the removal of artificial barriers and prejudice so that a constructive exchange of views of this kind could become real and possible, this being a good example of political culture and new, positive trends oriented towards the pluralism materialized in a responsible way for the good of the common motherland.

Walesa Meets Peace Committee Chairman

LD1605174689 Warsaw PAP in English
1600 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Gdansk, May 16—Peace Nobel laureate Lech Walesa met here today with chairman of the National Peace Committee, Prof Hieronim Kubiak to discuss directions of evolution of Polish peace movements, the intention to form a national peace coalition and the coalition's draft declaration. They also discussed Walesa's personal participation in the future activity of peace movements. The interlocutors agreed that round table

agreements required of all to find a plane for cooperation between independent and autonomous organizations and social movements active in Poland.

POLITYKA Interviews Solidarity's Geremek

AU1605130489 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 22 Apr 89 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity activist, by Adam Krzeminski: "The Crumbly Process of Rapprochement"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Adam Krzeminski: Professor, what has happened to the people who took part in the roundtable? Have fears been swallowed and a new phase of our "delayed revolution" begun? Has everyone shaken hands with each other?

Bronislaw Geremek: I hope something important really did happen at the roundtable, but I am not sure. All the time, this process of rapprochement was very shaky, and there was a risk that it might collapse at any moment. Now at last, this process is being put to its biggest test. On the one hand, it must overcome the deteriorating economic situation, and on the other hand it must break down opposition from people who fear that their interests are in danger. These are mostly people in the apparatus of authority, in the administration and economy, in the nomenklatura.

Adam Krzeminski: But did some psychological breakthrough occur in the minds of those who took part in the 9-week talks? Did they emerge from the talks as different people? Was a common language reached?

Bronislaw Geremek: There was no fraternization between the two sides. I do not think there was even a rapprochement. However, a common language did emerge, in the sense that not only did we understand each other, but we also appreciated the hopes and fears felt by the other side. And that is a lot. [passage omitted]

Adam Krzeminski: It would seem that those who took part in the roundtable, especially those on the opposition side, are doomed to become politicians in the Sejm and Senate, because it is now necessary to quickly select from these people a group of politicians capable of waging an election campaign. Do you not feel compelled to become a professional politician?

Bronislaw Geremek: The entire election campaign is permeated by the fact that the present ruling coalition wants to win, and this coalition has done everything it can to win it. It has reached political agreements that are a violation of democratic principles. Our side is totally unprepared for the elections. Whatever shape the election campaign assumes, I think it is a major lesson in civic education.

Adam Krzeminski: Especially for the opposition. The government side already has enough experience, but the opposition still has to produce a conspicuous number of politicians.

Bronislaw Geremek: I am sure we have the right people. However, it is not going to be easy to make sure they are elected, because we are unprepared. I do not know if there is a general ban on advertising candidates for the Sejm and Senate. Is it necessary to join the institutionalized framework of public life? There are alternatives to this. It is enough to take a look at what is happening in the world.

Adam Krzeminski: The emergence of Green parties, for example?

Bronislaw Geremek: Exactly. Traditional party structures have served their purpose, and something new is now emerging. That is why this "roundtable" is so interesting; it is a non-institutional form of dialogue between the authorities and society.

Adam Krzeminski: But not everyone appreciates that. Today you had to convince students that it is so. Was that meeting with students a preliminary election campaign, designed to secure their support during the real election campaign later?

Bronislaw Geremek: I took part in the meeting of the National Commission of the NZS [Independent Students Union]. We discussed the NZS' place in our public lives. The NZS feels that the "roundtable" did not live up to its promises because the NZS has not been legalized. All that was necessary was to implement a decision that had already been made, but the decision was blocked at lower levels of authority. And here we go back to where we started—how strong the opposition vis-a-vis the "roundtable" decisions is. The students felt that "Solidarity" had betrayed its own ally, an ally that stood with "Solidarity" during the 1988 strikes. I tried to tell the students that "Solidarity" is still faithful to them and needs their support in the election campaign, and that they should not turn their backs on the campaign. And now they will help us.

Adam Krzeminski: Thank you for the interview.

'Fighting Solidarity's' Morawiecki on Reforms

AU1605114689 Vienna PROFIL in German 16 May 89 pp 46-47

[Interview with Kornel Morawiecki, underground leader of "Fighting Solidarity," by Jacek Kubiak in Wroclaw: "Walesa Legalizes the System"; date not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Why has your organization called for a boycott of the Polish elections?

Morawiecki: Elections which guarantee a two-thirds majority to the rulers legalize the system. We demand free elections, because the crisis cannot be overcome without true democracy. Lech Walesa and his advisers justify their renunciation of democracy by saying that the Poles are not yet mature enough to already have true democracy today. Is it not insulting when the people are considered immature by their representatives?

PROFIL: It was a question of finding a settlement for a transitional period. At the roundtable both sides agreed that free, democratic elections should take place in 4 years.

Morawiecki: These are dreams of the future. The power structure, the hard core of the regime—police and army, important decisions in the economy, the monopoly of the mass media—after the roundtable all this remains in the sphere of power of the Communists. And how are we to stage free elections in 4 years if no agreement has been made at the roundtable on the establishment of parties? The government has not made any concessions concerning the regional and local self-administration, either. I think Solidarity acts in line with the slogan "Socialism yes, deformations no." (Footnote 1) (Slogan of protesting workers in 1956 and 1980, who wanted reforms but no change in the system.) I think that at the roundtable they should have said frankly that the Poles want to get rid of the Communist rule.

PROFIL: Do you think that Lech Walesa has accepted the Communist system?

Morawiecki: This is at least how he sounds. He says he does not know what one should actually understand by the term Communism, he is struggling only against the "remnants of Stalinism." However, the Communists say the same. The terms blur. We have to state publicly: We reject Communism, no matter what its nature. When Walesa met with Jaruzelski for the first time since 13 December 1981—the Poles followed this event on television—the general said: "Mountain and valley do not come together, but we do." Walesa answered: "Now we will never part again." I think that the Poles want the two to part again.

PROFIL: Do you think that the opposition had a realistic alternative to the compromise at the roundtable?

Morawiecki: It is too late to discuss this. In 1981 the compromise would have been a great achievement. Today, however, expectations are higher. Realpolitik must also take ethics into consideration. This pays off in the long run. For instance, I do not understand why both sides kept quiet about the assassinated Solidarity priests Stefan Niedzielak and Stanislaw Sochowolec. The assassination of the priests also has, if you like, a "realpolitik" significance. This significance lies in the fact that Interior Minister Kiszczak was not able to enforce obedience among his own ranks while he was striving for reconciliation with Solidarity. And one more thing: The decay of the communist system is a worldwide fact. Many nationalities in the USSR unambiguously demand their independence. But the Poles, who have always been the symbol of the struggle for liberation in the East, are now making arrangements with the system.

PROFIL: The dream of a "peoples' spring"....

Morawiecki: I rather fear that Solidarity is no longer seen as an alternative to Communism.

PROFIL: Will your anticommunist rhetoric not lose its attractiveness if the planned reforms are successful, even only partially?

Morawiecki: If Poland becomes free and independent by means of evolution, this would mean that I am wrong now. This would certainly be the best solution. But I do not think that Communism will give up voluntarily. The evolutionary development will need a revolutionary stimulus, for instance, strikes, mass protests, and demonstrations.

PROFIL: Do you not fear that Fighting Solidarity, the radical organization in the underground, is subject to the danger of being put into a ghetto? Already now mainly young people are rallying around it—people who do not have any clearly developed political ideas and only want to give free reign to their frustration.

Morawiecki: Perhaps this is right. But are the frustrated young people not a problem? One has to integrate them somehow, open up prospects to them.

PROFIL: For clashes with the police?

Morawiecki: This is more complicated. The young people's frustration is enormous: no apartments, no meaningful work, the desire to see the West, and grey, ruined Poland. If the police attack their demonstrations, the young people sometimes defend themselves with stones or empty bottles—I admit that. This is not pleasant. But I am afraid that if "Fighting Solidarity" did not exist as a political alternative, the bottles would be turned into Molotov cocktails. I also do not know how long the workers will still bear the economic misery. In this sense, one could perhaps say that "Fighting Solidarity" is a protection against the eruption of blind rage.

PROFIL: What is your attitude toward violence?

Morawiecki: This is a sensitive question. I want you to understand me properly. I am not in favor of fighting in the streets and brawls. However, I also understand people who no longer want to permit the police to beat them up. In other words: One cannot say in advance that one will never, under any circumstances, respond to violence with violence. Every society has the right to self-defense, for instance in the form of a workers militia

which protects striking enterprises. At the decisive moment the opponent should know that we are determined to actively defend our right to freedom.

RFE Program on De-Stalinization Criticized
LD1605180889 Warsaw PAP in English
1610 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 16—On May 11, the Polish section of Radio Free Europe was occupied with the "stand of the national conference of PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] delegates on the liquidation of the legacy of Stalinism in Poland". This is a significant document leaving no room for doubt in regard to a long-lasting process started by the 9th extraordinary PUWP congress in 1981. Both the report of the CC commission for clarifying the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of the people's Poland (1983) as well as the resolution of the 10 CC plenum (1989) are the phases of this process.

Intentionally ignoring facts and statements of that document, Ms. Alina Grabowska of RFE, in her extensive argument (made up of groundless opinions), holds that this is all a "humbug", "shifting the blame on others" and that if it were not for the elections, then there would not be such a declaration.

RFE dislikes the fact that the party resolutely wants to cause a final elimination of all the consequences of Stalinism from the socio-political practice, that it wishes to create and consolidate the guarantees hampering recurrences of lawlessness and other diseases of the state life, lack of social control, bureaucratism, imcompetence in rational administering, shortage in political and civic culture. RFE also completely makes no mention of the fact that the first Polish victims of the Stalinist lawlessness were leaders and top activists of the Communist Party of Poland murdered in the 1930s.

It is not difficult to guess why RFE dislikes the stand of the national conference of delegates. This is just because that the deep political and socio-economic reforms will lead to full liquidation of the consequences of Stalinism.

Ceausescu Departs for CSSR Visit 17 May

AU1705065889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0643 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/05/1989—In the morning of 17 May, Romanian Communist Party General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu left for a friendly working visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The presidential aircraft took off at 9.25 hrs from the Otopeni International Airport.

Romanian-Japan Joint Economic Committee to Meet

Meetings Begin 16 May

AU1605180589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1732 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Starting Tuesday, May 16, Bucharest is the venue of the eleventh session of the Joint Romania-Japan Economic Committee, which is attended by executives of ministries and foreign trade enterprises in Romania, and by representatives of Japanese companies.

The current stage of Romanian-Japanese economic relations is looked into and possibilities are examined of expanding and diversifying mutual commodity exchanges, of developing economic, technical and scientific cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

Ceausescu Addresses Businessmen

AU1605203389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Tuesday, 16 May, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received at the State Council headquarters the participants in the eleventh session of the Joint Romania-Japan Economic Committee under way in Bucharest.

During the talk questions were approached related to the current stage of economic relations between Romania and Japan, to the possibilities for the further growth of collaboration and commercial exchanges between Romanian enterprises and Japanese firms as part of the general framework of Romanian-Japanese co-operation. President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over a message from the chairman of the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations-KEIDANREN, Eishiro Saito.

On behalf of the Japanese businessmen attending the interview, Zenji Umeda, co-chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, thanked for having been received by Romania's president and expressed satisfaction at meeting him again and at talking with him about the development and diversification of the Romanian-Japanese economic relations.

Being highly appreciative of the success scored by Romania in wiping off its foreign debt, the co-chairman of the Joint Economic Committee underscored the willingness to further expand economic collaboration with Romania in accordance with the development level and possibilities of the two countries' economies.

Addressing the attendance President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed the participants in the session and wished them success in its unfolding, an ever more productive collaboration in all domains.

Romania's president assessed that the current session of the joint economic committee was of special importance, and expressed his conviction that it would mark a new moment in the growth of Romanian-Japanese economic relations.

Showing that the Romanian-Japanese economic exchanges and collaboration had witnessed a positive course in recent years, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that they were not up to the possibilities offered by the national economies of the two countries.

In the context, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted that, though in the last decade Romania had to solve some problems referring to the payment of its foreign debt which was liquidated in the first half of this year, it developed broadly its international economic ties with all the states of the world.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the achievements in the country's socioeconomic development, in the advancement of science, education and culture, in raising the people's standard of living, which provides a solid basis for the intensification of economic exchange and cooperation with all the states of the world.

"It is still one and a half years of the current five-year interval," President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "and we are concerned to fulfil the socioeconomic development provisions in the best conditions, placing the modernization of all spheres of activity in the forefront, and taking the latest advances in science and technology as a basis. We concentrate on raising the qualitative and technical standards of work and of all products. We wish the Romanian products be competitive and apt to complete with the best similar products made in other countries."

Mentioning that work was in progress on the elaboration of Romania's development plans till 1995 and the year 2000, President Nicolae Ceausescu underlined that a programme-directive was likely to be issued this July, which will be debated at length with the people in order to set the orientations for the country's future development. "We intend to further earmark 30 per cent of the national income for the development fund. We also wish to step up international economic relations with all the states of the world, with no distinction," he said, adding:

"We also intend to substantially increase international economic exchanges both with the socialist countries and with the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries. We want to commit ourselves more firmly to carrying through ventures of cooperation in production with various countries, more particularly with the developing countries."

"Romania decided to no longer resort to credits. However, we shall continue to grant credits in order to carry out these actions as part of our cooperation with other states and, especially, with the developing countries. It is in this spirit that we think to work in future in developing international economic relations."

Referring to the Romanian-Japanese economic relations, President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that there were great possibilities for a still more marked growth of economic exchanges and collaboration between the two countries.

"You referred to 300 million dollars worth of commercial exchanges annually in the next three years. I would suggest we should be more daring and think of nearly 500 million dollars annually and, till 1995, of 700-800 million dollars to reach afterwards one billion dollars," Romania's president said. "If you also agree, it is in this spirit that we shall have to approach the questions related to the ties between our economies within the Joint Economic Committee, and to further work to ensure the fulfilment of these goals."

"We start from the fact that economic relations, collaboration must be a decisive factor of interstate relations, a substitute for the policy of nuclear deterrence, for the policy of force and of threat of force, apt to bring about a substantial cut in military spending, to concentrate efforts on the economic and social progress of all peoples and, in this framework, of developing countries, to become the factor deciding mankind's future, and ensuring the development of each nation in keeping with the latest achievements in science and technology."

"As for Romania, it is firmly determined to parallel its efforts toward economic and social development, toward raising the people's general standards of civilization and culture with its wish and ability to contribute to developing relations of good collaboration with all the nations of the world, to building a world free of nuclear and chemical weapons or with a small number and quantity of conventional weapons as bare necessities for defence, with a view to creating dignified living conditions, from all points of view, to all peoples."

Deng-Gorbachev Meeting, Romanian Mention Noted

AU1605175389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] According to XINHUA and TASS, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the CPC [Communist Party of China] Central Committee Military Commission and chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is paying an official visit to the PRC, had a meeting today in Beijing.

During the meeting, Deng Xiaoping told the Soviet leader the following: We take this opportunity to announce the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations. This also means the normalization of relations between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties. The Chinese people, Deng Xiaoping said, were considering the possibility of improving Chinese-Soviet relations. Consequently, Deng Xiaoping said, we asked President Nicolae Ceausescu to convey to you my request for a Chinese-Soviet summit.

During the exchange of views on the construction of the socialist society, the two sides expressed their parties' endorsement for the cause of socialism, emphasized the topical requirement for the creative development of Marxist theory, and pointed out that there can be no question of a single model or a standard socialist society.

Tackling certain major aspects of the international situation, the two sides stressed that now that mankind has reached a critical stage it is absolutely necessary to renounce the policy of force, to resolve international problems through political needs, and to establish constructive relations among all states.

LCY Central Committee Plenum on Kosovo To Open

LD1605123189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 16 May 89

[By Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] tomorrow opens its third plenum in less than two years devoted to the Province of Kosovo where an escalation of ethnic Albanian separatism led to the imposition of emergency measures on February 27.

The plenum is expected to finally achieve political unity in the assessment of the situation in Kosovo and to adopt a clear political stand on the responsibility for the dramatic political situation in the province which has been seriously shaking Yugoslavia in recent years.

The result of the sharp political confrontations of party leaders from different parts of Yugoslavia at previous two plenums devoted to the issue on Kosovo was that the agreements reached were never implemented, which, in turn, encouraged provincial separatists in their efforts to create "greater Albania." It was therefore impossible to avoid the emergency measures, which neither can nor should be the only right solution to the problem. This also dealt yet another serious blow to the policy on Kosovo.

The LCY's plenum is expected to produce a clear political stand on the responsibility for the escalation of separatism in Kosovo (which last March claimed 24 lives). This should be done not as part of a "witch-hunt," but because of the need to finally reach a turning point in party life and [word indistinct] the rights and the responsibility for political action.

Tomorrow's plenum is expected to proceed more smoothly than before since a greater measure of unity is now in evidence in the new provincial party leadership and among the membership, as is also the readiness to do away with separatism. An objective assessment of the course taken by the provincial leadership would also help Kosovo Communists and the entire LCY to strengthen their action, in both ideological and action terms.

The plenum will for the last time be presided over by Dr Stipe Suvar as LCY Central Committee Presidency president. Suvar yesterday became a member of Yugoslavia's new State Presidency and, in keeping with the position taken on the separation of state and party posts, could not stay on also as party leader.

Plenary Session Opens 17 May

LD1705073989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0717 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 May (TANJUG)—The 23d plenary session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee opened in the Great Hall of the SFRY Assembly this morning. The agenda includes two topics: the current situation in Kosovo and the League of Communists' tasks.

This is the third time in less than 2 years that the Central Committee has discussed Kosovo, the hotbed of the Yugoslav crisis. There is no need for new conclusions and standpoints in addition to those adopted at the 9th and 16th sessions, but there is an urgent need for heightening accountability for the way adopted policy is being implemented in order to step up some of the positive processes underway in the province.

An introductory report on the issue will be submitted by Perko Vukotic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Federal Chamber Passes Amendment on Visa Law

LD1605170189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2203 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—The Federal Council [as received] of the Yugoslav Assembly today passed in an emergency procedure an amendment to the law on the movement and residence of foreigners, authorizing the Federal Executive Council to temporarily or permanently relieve the citizens of certain countries with which Yugoslavia has not abolished visas of the duty to obtain Yugoslav visas.

The aim is to avoid or at least diminish the damaging consequences which could arise by the possible unilateral cancellation of the agreement on abolishing visas with the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Bonn government has announced it would discuss the possibility of cancelling the agreement late this month since a large number of so-called false asylum seekers from Yugoslavia came to the Federal Republic of Germany over the past few months.

The validity of the international agreement expires on June 1, which coincides with the beginning of the tourist season. According to the law, West German citizens travelling to Yugoslavia would then have to obtain visas. In order to avoide a mass cancellation of trips to Yugoslavia because of visas, the legal possibility of avoiding this has been provided.

Federal Chamber Discusses Strike 'Blueprint'

LD1605165189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 15 May 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—Before 20 February, the first day of the protest strike in Stari Trg, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs had no 'blueprint of conspiracy', so it was not able to forward it to the competent federal institutions. The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs conveyed to the competent federal bodies in a timely manner its information about work stoppages and the general strike and stoppage of lectures

in schools and universities, the FEC reply states. The reply was submitted for today's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. it answers delegate Mirjana Kuljic-Saranovic's question whether the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs knew about 'blueprint of conspiracy' in Stari Trg.

The State Security Service and the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, as well as other security services, were asked to, besides undertaking measures within their competence, inform the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and relevant leaderships of the province about all security relevant information, so that the necessary steps could be taken on time, the FEC reply states. [passage omitted] [Transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 2 and 3 not received]

Mijat Sukovic started an initiative that the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly should task the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations with regulating the association of citizens in sociopolitical organizations and citizens' associations founded and acting on the entire territory of Yugoslavia.

According to the Yugoslav Constitution, federal law should regulate the association of citizens into associations active on the entire Yugoslav territory, Sukovic stressed. However, this obligation has not been fulfilled so far. The founding of citizens' associations whose program and political orientation prescribe activity on the entire territory of Yugoslavia meets in practice with insurmountable obstacles. [passage omitted]

Chamber of Republics, Provinces Elects Officials

LD1505172989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—In a secret ballot today Dr Miran Mejak (Slovenia) was elected president of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, and Sava Veselinov (Vojvodina), the chamber's vice-president.

Out of 79 votes Mejak received 61 with his rivals Tone Ferenc and Joze Sintic getting 14 and 32 votes respectively. One ballot paper was invalid.

A convincing victory was also scored by Vice President Sava Veselinov who received 61 out of possible 71 votes. The runner-up Velimir Radovanov was given nine votes. One ballot paper was invalid.

Following their elections Mejak and Veselinov, who will stay in these posts for 1 year, were sworn in.

Assembly Commission Ends Work on Kecmanovic Case

LD1605150489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly Commission for the Control of the State Security Service today completed its work on considering a request by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Republic Assembly to investigate the legal aspects of the work by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs State Security Service, and to examine documents on certain aspects of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic's activity.

After a detailed consideration of the documents put at the commission's disposal by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, a report was prepared which will later today be sent to the President of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Republic Assembly Commission for the Control of the State Security Service.

In the commission's view the report should be made available to delegates in the federal chamber and to the public since it is not of a confidential nature. It is stressed that the commission has concluded that the State Security Services in the federal organs operated within their legal powers.

Security Service Case Work Legal

LD1605175889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Security Service worked in keeping with the law in the "Kecmanovic case", the Yugoslav Federal Assembly Commission in charge announced today but failed to disclose details which would shed more light on the case.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Security Service accused the rector of the Sarajevo University, Nenad Kecmanovic, who was at the time the favorite in the elections for the post of Yugoslav State Presidency member, of having contacts with foreign intelligence officers. Kecmanovic was forced to withdraw his candidacy for the high post because of this in no way naive qualification of a "spy".

It is not completely clear who initiated the "Kecmanovic case" because the Bosnia-Hercegovina Security Service and the Federal Security Service "passed the advantage on" to each other. The Federal Security Service says that it has not initiated the case, while the Bosnia-Hercegovina republican Security Service is trying to give the dominant role to the federal bodies.

Meanwhile, at the request of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, the Yugoslav Federal Assembly Commission assessed the lawfulness of the activities of the Federal State Security service in the "Kecmanovic case."

The commission president Joze Susmelj said that the case was clear for the commission and that it was now the turn of the republican Assembly to assess whether it received what it wanted.

According to the procedure, the commission report will be presented to the Federal Assembly chamber in charge of the affair and to the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament. The commission has assessed that the document should be made available to the delegates of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly and the public.

At the beginning of the affair, the public demanded that Kecmanovic goes to jail if he is guilty, or that those who cooked up the whole affair be imprisoned to jail if he is proven innocent.

In reply to the question whether Kecmanovic could again candidate himself to the same post, Susmelj said that Bosnia-Hercegovina socio-political organizations were in charge of such decisions.

Commission Approves Changes in Foreigners Bill

LD1205095389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 11 (TANJUG)—Changes in Yugoslavia's Law on Foreigners, the draft of which today gained the support of the Federal Assembly's commission in charge of the issue, will abolish the principle of automatism under which the government is at present legally bound to reciprocate to another country's introduction of visas for Yugoslav citizens in a like fashion.

Under the proposal, the government would in future decide on any response to be made in each individual case. The changes to the law on foreigners are expected to be adopted by the end of this month.

The changes were motivated by the decision of the Federal Republic of Germany to unilaterally break off the agreement between the two countries on the abolition of visas, Bonn's grounds for its move being the large number of false asylum seekers from Yugoslavia in that country.

The breaking off of the agreement does not mean that the government in Bonn, which decides on visas in the Federal Republic of Germany, will automatically introduce visas for Yugoslavs, and in all likelihood Bonn will not decide on such a step either before the conclusion of the coming holiday season or perhaps even the end of the year.

Delegates in the Yugoslav Assembly were told today that the changes in the law on foreigners would grant the government more room for manoeuvering when deciding on visas. The conviction was also expressed that the problem of fake asylum seekers from Yugoslavia, which Bonn has indicated as the reason for its one-sided decision, could be resolved or at least substantially reduced through measures the two governments are taking in cooperation.

EC Official Talks With Yugoslav Economists

LD1605192189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—The future cooperation between Yugoslavia and the [European] Economic Community (E.C.) would depend on two key factors—Yugoslavia's economic policy and Yugoslav businessmen's possibilities to adjust themselves to changes, especially those that will make European market unified as of January 1993—it was assessed by the E.C. Commission director for the Mediterranean countries and Yugoslavia, Eberhard Rhein in his talks today with Yugoslav economists.

Rhein who arrived in Yugoslavia on Sunday, hoped that Yugoslavia would want and would be able to take part in Europe's integration processes as he stressed that those who are ready to work hard are welcome to the European Community. We can help you, said he, with analyses, suggestions, but we cannot tell you what you should do, how and when.

He noted what he called impressive results reached under the Yugoslavia-E.C. agreement in the area of trade. Among the Mediterranean countries, said Rhein, Yugoslavia has been most successful on the European market after it has in a relatively short time of eight years trebled its exports to this market to six billion from two billion ecus.

Human Rights Forum Appeals to State Presidency

AU1005202689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1937 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Human Rights Forum decided today to appeal to the State Presidency to find a way to pardon all those convicted of "malicious and untruthful representation of the situation in the country" under Article 133 of Yugoslavia's Penal Code, because last year's pardon of all those convicted under this article could not apply to those who had not started serving their terms by then.

The forum will also propose to responsible organs considerable changes in the Penal Code and the Law on Criminal Proceedings, including a proposal to erase Article 133.

The forum authorized its Kosovo branch to seek information from responsible provincial organs about the circumstances in which "human lives were lost" during demonstrations last March and also about whether some

citizens there are "being kept in isolation." The Kosovo group will also review the fate of the signatories to the so-called appeal by 215 ethnic Albanian intellectuals of Kosovo.

The death toll of the armed demonstrations staged by ethnic Albanian chauvinists in Kosovo included 2 policemen, 21 demonstrators and 1 person not taking part in the demonstrations.

The Human Rights Forum will also propose to the State Presidency to start an initiative to bring into conformity the law on travel documents with the country's Constitution and also with Yugoslavia's international obligations. The forum holds that the right granted to the responsible organ (the secretariat for internal affairs) not to give reasons for its decision to decline to issue or impound a person's passport is a violation of the individual's right to legal protection.

Protest was also expressed at the forum's session against the creation of an atmosphere of constant threat which is cited in justification of restricting the freedom of communication of scholars, intellectuals and all citizens of Yugoslavia with foreigners.

The reason behind the protest is the case of Nenad Kecmanovic, president of Sarajevo University and one of the candidates for the Yugoslav state presidency. After the security service alleged that his contacts with foreigners, who included foreign intelligence agents, were a risk to "Yugoslavia's security," Kecmanovic withdrew from the election procedure.

Kosovo Authorities View 'Differentiation'

AU1605191189 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 16 May 89

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 16 May carries a number of reports pertaining to the activity of various communal bodies.

A 3-minute report on an "extended meeting" of the Pristina League of Communists [LC] Committee Presidium says that the meeting discussed a paper "on progress in the implementation of political differentiation in the Pristina LC organization."

The announcer says that the introductory report was presented by Moncilo Traikovic, secretary of the Presidium. The report is said to have pointed out that "despite the concrete decisions and obligations that have been taken to implement measures of ideopolitical differentiation, the results attained are still limited, while the general situation continues to be complicated." Traikovic is reported saying that in various organizations "the question of differentiation is only being postponed from one meeting to the next." Traikovic is said to have mentioned collectives and institutions where the differentiation process is lagging behind: "The most complicated security and political situation is in the electricity generation economy, which is without leadership at the moment, followed by the Novo Brdo and Kisnice mines, Pristina University, some secondary and primary schools, and a number of self-managed associations. Nor has the differentiation process been carried out to the end in the Kosovo SAWP Presidium, the communal trade union council, the Pristina Commune Executive Council, some organs of the Communal Assembly, as well as in some public information media, with the exception of Radio Pristina. The attitude of Communists at Pristina University and in the RILINDJA newspaper with regard to the 215 signatories of the Appeal by Albanian Intellectuals, the majority of whom continue to work in these institutions, is unsatisfactory." Traikovic is said to have warned that "accounts must be settled once and for all time" with regard to all those who resist the implementation of the differentiation policy.

A 2-minute report on a meeting by the Mitrovica Commune LC Committee, says that "Rasim Kerkezi, Riza Beka, and Mehmet Fejzo, members of the Presidium, have resigned from their positions because of their objective responsibility for the situation created in Mitrovica Commune." Eight new members were elected to the Mitrovica LC Committee.

Another item refers to the Kamenice Commune General People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee statement issued at today's meeting, which states: "Hostile leaflets were found during the night of 15-16 May 1989 on Milo Nikolic Road, in the city of Kamenice, which were signed by the People's Movement for a Kosovo Republic, calling on citizens of Albanian nationality to continue demonstrations, acts of sabotage, work stoppages, school boycotts, and other forms of activity against the socialist self-management system and against the security of Yugoslavia." The security organs are said to be investigating the matter.

Another brief report says that "five leaflets written from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism" were found in one of the precincts of Gnjilane. The leaflets were said to have been distributed by "The People's Movement for a Kosovo Republic," and call on the Albanian population "to continue demonstrations, work stoppages, school boycotts, acts of sabotage, and other forms of hostile activity against our constitutional system and the integrity of Yugoslavia." Investigations are said to be in progress.

Solevic Grants Interview to START Magazine

AU1605154089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 89 p 7

[D. Pusonjic report on interview with Miroslav Solevic, president of the Organizing Committee for Solidarity Meetings With Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, in START magazine: "The Master for Meetings"]

[Text] "In Kosovo Polje, in front of the local community building where he had dropped by to photocopy some

documents, Miroslav Solevic was approached with awe by some Kosovo Polje citizens who worriedly asked him: 'Sole, what is this, we start off nicely and then all of a sudden we stop. Who are we waiting for and why do we no longer go to meetings?' He calmed them down by saying: 'In winter the Army has to rest and the state to work. But in 2 or 3 months time, when Colonel Kole (Kosta Bulatovic) gives the order, the movement will continue.'"

This event from the life of Miroslav Solevic was recorded by Darko Hudelist on 8 December 1988 and published in his text "Sketch for a Portrait of Miroslav Solevic," from which we are publishing the most interesting parts.

I did not get involved with the current events until 1981 happened. This first of all astounded me, but I was probably one of those to be the first to come to his senses. As a temporary measure, I kept a carbine rifle and about 50 bullets in the house while the demonstrations were going on. I did this thinking that if they got to the house we could at least kill someone before they killed us, if nothing else. I did not hide my family away....

The Statute Is Not What is Written Down

Further on in his relaxed testimonial, Solevic spoke in detail about his "great advantage" over the other comrades in the Kosovo Polje headquarters: because he learned his trade in conflicts with the director and "those surrounding him" when he worked in the Pristina Prometservis enterprise back in 1975. This is because he did not have a job for 10 months because of the conflict, and he says that during that time he studied the system well. He claimed that the statute is not what is written in the Statute, the program is not what is written in the program, the court is not there to judge—but it is up to the Committee to judge. He realized that the person who is right is not the one who has justice on his side, but the one who has force and power. But "power is not in the Committee as such but with one or two men." Then it is essential that "you have connections with them." While learning the political trade, he discovered the importance of records. It is not at all important who said what, but it is important what the writer of the minutes wrote.

...Slobo Aleksic who is also a Montenegrin collected signatures for us in Vrbas from his relatives (on the eve of the solidarity meeting on 27 August 1988) which were the ones that we said we had received in the post. The famous 63 signatures! That secretary of the Committee in Vrbas told us: "But these are all honest people." And I say to him: "We are not counting on any others." And he looks and looks and says: "But these are all my neighbors." I say: "Comrade president, then you must have organized them!" I was therefore accusing him! Immediately! Everyone, everything, the press was there.... That was a great trick and at the right moment! Something happens and you cannot do anything about it. And he is saying: "These are all my neighbors!" "Then you must have organized them, Comrade president!" and I am damned if he is the one, I know who did it, it is the one who gave me the papers when we went to see him.

How I Deceived the Montenegrins

...Now I will tell you how I deceived the Montenegrins. When Titograd happened (the October "destruction of the government" last year) I was at the meeting in Presevo, which is 93 percent Albanian and 7 percent Serbian. How was the meeting in Presevo organized at all? When we were at the meeting in Bujanovac, several education workers came up to me and asked "how could we organize a meeting in Presevo?" I said—very easily. All you have to do is start from here and begin chanting: Come to Presevo, come to Presevo! Our Committee will resolve such demands in a positive way. That was the way meetings were held in Niksic and Cetinje.

Solevic said that he refused to go to the meeting in Jajce "not only because Bogdan Kecman spoiled everything." ("He won over a group of veterans there and began to make threats with them as if he had an army of tanks behind him, and he presented us as a group of people who do not have a clue about politics, which was particularly insulting to me.") The other reason why we did not go to Jajce, which is probably the most important reason, was because the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina gave full support to the changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. We made serious preparations, we planned to definitely go, we thought it would not need much to get things going, like we did in Vojvodina, and afterwards everything would go very easily.

Great Preparations for Ljubljana

"We had even made preparations to go to Skopje. But did you see how we were supported by Tupurkovski and Pancevski? And all the others. Therefore, whom were we to go against? Against the Macedonian leadership that was on our side? That would have been pure stupidity. It would have been stupid to go to Ljubljana and for Milan Kucan to support us, as he was our adversary. We should have gone to him. As regards Croatia, things were still uncertain. There are a great number of people in leading posts in Croatia who have the right attitude to our situation. The least right, unfortunately, is Suvar. He is the worst."

Solevic said that it was really a great shame that the Kosovo Polje people did not go to Slovenia. It would not have been easy to get to Ljubljana, great preparations would have been needed. "When we had prepared so much, the 17th session was approaching and the Committee had to disband. So they escaped by a whisker. Had we set off on the summer offensive in May, Ljubljana would not have slipped from our grasp."

"In Croatia things will explode from several directions. There will be a violent clash of generations. The situation will get worse. I think that the veterans will increasingly move toward the left and the present leadership to the right. It will increasingly preserve the present situation. Then it is only a matter of days before it comes to the politicization of young people.... When it comes to the crunch in Croatia, the veterans and the youth will be the forces which will come up with new people and which will clear up the present situation! It is 100 percent certain it will be that way. And now there will be some other elements like regional conflicts although the Serbs in Croatia cannot play a serious role in this.... And then one day something will snap in Zagreb and they will only say: 'Lay down your arms! Surrender!' I guarantee you this, I will vouch for this. I think that this is what is awaiting Croatia in 1989."

Solevic assesses that the present leadership has no chance of preventing this "explosion." Or of gaining support from the federal leadership because, "who would give Croatia this support, the Serbs, Vojvodina, Kosovo, Macedonia, or Montenegro which (he means the leadership) would have fallen by that time any way. They will fall in January, February, or March at the latest. Then who in the federal leadership will Croatia ask for help?"

Nationalism Without a Chance

This development of events could perhaps be stopped by America and in this way: "It could happen for example that America enters the game and says—here you are, here is a non-returnable $3 billion for the Republic of Croatia only. And in that way it would finance the present situation. However, if this money were to be shared out in the federation and go into various funds, the Republic of Croatia would be left with barely one sixth of that sum. Therefore, there is no hope...."

The most important thing for Yugoslavia is for there to be excellent relations between the Serbian and Croatian peoples, and this is because of the simplest arithmetic "because in this case you have 70 percent of the territorial and national question solved.... If Serbs and Croats do not have any problems among themselves, then who remains apart from that? The Albanians [derogatory word "siptar" used], Macedonians, and Slovenes and the national minorities which are numerically negligible for such a serious matter." Nationalism does not have a chance in our country if it is not supported by something powerful, like the state, said Solevic.

...What kind of model is it where in the same state, in one region, in Slovenia the standard of living is five times that in Macedonia. This is not normal. Therefore I banned my wife, for example, from buying Slovene toilet paper. She cannot even buy Slovene toilet paper accidentally, as I would take it straight back to the shop. She must even not buy tooth-picks from Slovenia. Nothing, she must not buy anything Slovene...because you have no other mechanism in the present situation.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

A Super-Meeting in Zagreb

But! We would do very well in Zagreb! As far as I know, around 200,000 Serbs live in Zagreb. One in four would go to the meeting, and that is 50,000. And 10,000 of us would come; so with 60,000 you have a super-meeting! That would fill Dinamo's stadium to bursting! We could put the rostrum in Republic Square facing the market.

Refugees From Albania, Romania Discussed

AU1005075689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 9 May 89

["Criticism of Yugoslav Diplomacy"—TANJUG heading]

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—An official of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Tuesday criticized the country's diplomacy for maneuvering and ignoring facts about the unfavorable status of the Yugoslav minorities in some neighboring countries which, as in the case of Albania, even deny their existence.

At a joint meeting of responsible officials of the Assembly of Serbia and the assemblies of its two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo, Slavoljub Kosoric criticized the practice of returning, because of the lack of funds, members of the Yugoslav minorities who fled from Romania to Yugoslavia. On the other hand, he said, refugees from Albania were "wholeheartedly accepted and given financial support to continue living normally in Kosovo."

Kosovo Assembly official Sefki Bitici said Tirana's support to Albanian separatists in Kosovo proves that Albania has not changed its policy after the Balkan ministerial meeting in Belgrade and that it is seeking to legalize interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. He also said that the question of the status of the Yugoslav minorities in Albania should be brought up and kept alive in interstate contacts.

Bitici warned that the Albanian emigration abroad was winning support in some Western countries and among Moslem fundamentalists.

Member of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Momir Stojkovic stressed that it is high time to realize that Tirana's policy of homogenization and creation of ethnically pure territories is anti-Yugoslav, and that Yugoslavia must therefore change its policy towards Albania. He proposed that the Yugoslav Foreign

Secretariat draw up aide-memoires whereby the questions of both the minorities and overall relations will be presented to Albania and Romania, with all arguments and explanations.

Vojvodina Leadership Views Constitution, Reforms
LD1305025789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0109 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Novi Sad, May 12 (TANJUG)—The party leadership of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, northeastern Yugoslavia, warned at their session here today of "Yugoslavia's reality being characterised by the national feelings prevailing over the class ones." This is bound to give birth within the federation "to lack of understanding, to confrontation and to nationalistic feelings."

Vojvodina's Communists see the cause of such a state of affairs in the present Constitution which gives "an absolute advantage to national interests in all spheres of work and life."

Ideas inaugurated in Yugoslavia's 4th Constitution adopted in 1974 have parcelled out Yugoslavia politically and economically as the generator of the crisis which requires essential and resolute reforms, according to evaluations already voiced in the Province of Vojvodina and the Republic of Serbia of which this province is a part.

In their debate on "a very complex situation in Yugoslavia" Vojvodina's Communists evaluated that "a way out should be found not in the idea of either a confederalist system or state unitarism, but within a full-scale democratisation of political and social relationships."

They came out in favour of such a reform through which to be inaugurated in Yugoslavia are a market-oriented economy and human rights and liberties expanded. The growingly prevailing thesis of the need to introduce a non-party political pluralism as one of the basic elements of deepergoing democratisation gained a wide support today.

It was underlined, however, that the multinational Vojvodina, in which from ever fostered has been a national balance among its various peoples, nationalities (national minorities) and ethnic groups is not for forming nationalistic parties since in them it sees a danger of majorisation. [sentence as received]

Municipal Committee Expels 3 LC Members
LD1505204289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 15 May 89

[Summary] Kosovoska Mitrovica, 15 May (TANJUG)—At a session held today, the Kosovska Mitrovica League of Communist [LC] Municipal Committee expelled Nuhi Salihu from the LC. He is accused of taking part in demonstrations and strikes between November and March. Also expelled was Basri Arifi, charged with opportunism, and Zaim Zajnulahu, because of his support for the former leadership.

Prosecutor Stays Proceedings Against Tudjman
AU1605195889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 89 p 12

[TANJUG report: "Proceedings Against Tudjman Stayed"]

[Text] The Zagreb District Public Prosecutor's Office decided not to go ahead with the demand for initiating criminal proceedings against Dr Franjo Tudjman for violating Article 286 of the law on carrying out sanctions against criminal and minor offenses.

At the beginning of March of this year, a demand was issued for initiating proceedings against Dr Tudjman, who was accused of making a public speech in Zagreb on 20 February despite the fact that on 17 November of 1980 the Zagreb District Court found him guilty of the criminal act of spreading hostile propaganda and, in addition to sentencing him to 2 years and 6 months' imprisonment, banned him from making public speeches for 5 years.

According to the information which the Public Prosecutor's Office possessed, the ban was supposed to last until 25 November of this year.

Examining the appeal presented by Dr Tudjman, who claimed that the ban had already expired, the Public Prosecutor's Office asked for additional information. It concluded that Dr Tudjman's sentence was interrupted on seven occasions lasting a total of 18 months and 3 days, during which time the ban was still in effect, and that the ban has indeed expired on 21 February of 1988, which is to say before Dr Franjo Tudjman made his first public speech. In view of these facts, the district Public Prosecutor's Office decided not to go ahead with the demand for initiating proceedings against him.

District Prosecutor Rejects Iranian Charges
LD1705100989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0926 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 May (TANJUG)—The district Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade today rejected as unfounded criminal charges brought by the Iranian Embassy in Belgrade against Slobodan Selenic, president of the Federation of Yugoslav Writers, the Yugoslav daily BORBA and its editor-in-chief, Stanislav Marinkovic, and against the paper's journalist, Vesna Roganovic.

In a statement to TANJUG today the district Public Prosecutor's Office says that the criminal charges contain no elements which point to a criminal act under Article 158 of the SFRY's penal code—damaging the reputation of the head of a foreign state.

In its request for criminal proceedings, submitted to the district Public Prosecutor's Office in April this year, the Iranian Embassy accuses Selenic on the grounds of a statement to BORBA in which he spoke about "Ayatollah Khomeyni's intimidating threat against Salman

Rushdie." In an amended request sent to the prosecutor's office a few days later Selenic was accused of insulting the head of a foreign state.

The Iranian charge d'affairs in Belgrade has been informed about the decision of the district Public Prosecutor's Office.

Afghan Minister Delivers Najibullah Message

LD1205091189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0755 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)—Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Faruq Karmand has been in Belgrade since yesterday. In his capacity as special envoy, he handed over a message from Afghan President Najibullah for SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic. During an exchange of opinions with Deputy Federal Secretary Milivoje Maksic, the current aspects of the Afghan situation—the main subject of the message—were considered. It was stressed that there is a need for consistent observance of the Geneva accords provisions on noninterference and for broadly based negotiations in this nonaligned country. Particular attention was paid to the preparations for the ninth summit of nonaligned ocuntries in Belgrade.

Faruq Karmand was also received by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, who, among other things, pointed to the significance of a national dialogue and harmony if peace is to return to this country.

Tito's Associate Interviewed on Rehabilitation

AU1605193189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, member of the Council of the Federation, by Danilo Erakovic; date, place not given]

[Text] Bar, 8 May—The well-known Macedonian revolutionary, Vera Aceva, wrote a 300-page letter to Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo objecting to the fact that he had made many erroneous conclusions about the Macedonian armed revolution and that he had misinterpreted many facts.

We wanted Svetozar Vukmanovic to comment on this, but he was not willing to talk about it just yet. Our talk turned to another equally interesting topic.

Inspired by BORBA's feuilleton on political rehabilitation that was started at the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the Montenegrin Communists, and asked what he thought about this process in our country and where it was leading to, Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, national hero and a legend of our revolution, agreed to talk to us.

"The rehabilitation of Nikola Lekic, and especially the victims of the notorious Chetnik prison in Kolasin, as well as of some other people more recently, should be to a great extent credited to the extraordinary congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro. Considering that you are very interested in political rehabilitation, I can say that what happened at the 10th congress in Titograd can only be seen as the beginning of this important process in our country. Yugoslav Communists have owed us this process for a long time."

Rankovic

After these remarks Tempo said:

I have already said on several occasions that one should reexamine the possibility of rehabilitating Aleksandar Rankovic because it is said, although I do not have proof of this, that Comrade Rankovic did not eavesdrop on Comrade Tito and other top officials. It is in fact eavesdropping that he was mostly criticized for at the fourth plenum and later. Some friends of mine claim that authentic proof exists—and will certainly be published—that Rankovic and the department he was the head of are not responsible for eavesdropping. If this is the case, then he should really be rehabilitated.

[Erakovic] An appropriate state-party commission had worked on this matter at that time....

[Tempo] Yes it did. It was headed by Krste Crvenkovski. If it turns out that the findings of this commission are not correct, then Rankovic ought to be rehabilitated and those who carried out this campaign should be called to account. Victims should be rehabilitated.

[Erakovic] Does this mean that Tito was cheated, too?

[Tempo] I do not know who cheated whom. Above all, it is the Yugoslav Communists that were cheated.

[Erakovic] Was eavesdropping marked as Rankovic's greatest mistake?

[Tempo] In a conversation with Tito 3 months prior to that he told me that his relationship with Rankovic was becoming impossible, which is to say that Rankovic, as vice president, had not been to see him for a whole year. I suggested that he talk to Rankovic because we considered Rankovic, as an organizational secretary, to be the soul of the party. I told him that Rankovic is such a communist that, if he was wrong in some respect, he would try to correct it.

At this point Tempo recalls that he was in continuous disagreement with Rankovic over the question of self-management, but that in this case, he was looking at things objectively. He then continued:

"As far as I know, Tito did hold a conversation with Rankovic. I was even present when they hugged each other at the third plenum. I reacted in a spontaneous manner: 'It is alright, they hugged each other.' I also heard a whisper behind me: 'This is only temporary.'"

[Erakovic] Whose voice was that?

[Tempo] Bakaric's. I asked him what he meant. He did not say anything. About 3 months later we learned about eavesdropping.

[Erakovic] What kind of attitude did Rankovic have toward Kosovo at that time?

[Tempo] I do not know much about that. However, at the fourth plenum there were allegations that he spread terror there, etc....

Djilas

[Erakovic] Another natural question to ask is that of the possibility of rehabilitating Djilas.

[Tempo] I spoke about Djilas on several occasions. As is known, he came up with a very sharp criticism of the bureaucratic system in our country. This is why he was called to account. At the fourth plenum, the one held in 1953, I said that I agreed with his articles except the last one. Moreover, my wife and I were delighted with these articles. True, I did not take part in the examination of the Djilas case because I was ill at that time. I had two meetings with him. We spoke about these articles and I, as I have already said, told him that I agreed with them, except the last one on the withering away of the party. By talking to him I understood that he was in favor of different views within the party. I thought that this would lead to factions. At the plenum he was condemned for everything that he had said. I said that I agreed with all Djilas' articles except the last one. Now, however, I would, as I have already said in some places, agree even with that article. By the way, Djilas was not expelled from the party at that time; he returned his party membership card himself.

[Erakovic] Why?

He smiled and said:

[Tempo] After his car and other privileges were taken away, following the condemnation at the plenum, Djilas used to walk. What is ironical is that on one occasion when he went for a walk on a wet, rainy day, a car passed by and splashed him all over. Do you know who was in it? Pero Stambolic. He stopped the car and cynically said: "Serves you right!" This is in fact why he returned his party membership card. Later, I read many another articles that he had written after his removal from the leadership, e.g. "The New Class," "The Imperfect Society," and so forth. I do not agree with them at all. However, if our society in fact propagates what he was demanding and demands, I ask myself: What kind of morality is that then? Why do we not rehabilitate him because he saw the future before all of us, if this is the future? Today, this seems to be regarded as the future. Therefore, if it is correct that our society does not have any other way out and must follow this road, the road that he is advocating, then he should be rehabilitated.

Montenegro

[Erakovic] It would also be logical to ask you about the latest rehabilitations in Montenegro.

[Tempo] This is a great thing and the convening of the congress is justified for this reason alone. Particularly important is the rehabilitation of Nikola Lekic because he is an exceptional revolutionary and person. This is at least how I regard him.

[Erakovic] How did the clash with him come about?

[Tempo] This was an internal power struggle within the previous Montenegrin leadership.

[Erakovic] Some comrades, such as Savo Brkovic, ask: "Why did Tempo not rehabilitate Nikola Lekic when he was in the position to be beside Tito at the time when very few people were able to be in that position?"

Tempo angrily replied:

[Tempo] Could one not ask another question? How is it that when I was around Tito I had to eat plain bread on so many occasions? I did not interfere in Montenegrin affairs, except the construction of the Belgrade-Bar railroad line, and that was for sentimental reasons. Anyhow, the question of rehabilitation was never mentioned.

[Erakovic] Why did Yugoslav Communists not have enough strength to raise the question of political rehabilitation in Yugoslavia earlier?

[Tempo] This question is asked from time to time, but the main, essential question has not been asked yet. Why? I do not know.

Goli Otok

[Erakovic] Talking about rehabilitation, it seems that the question of whether we have gotten to know everything about Goli Otok [Barren Island, former political prison] is inevitable.

[Tempo] It would be nice if everything was finally explained. Whether you believe me or not, I am personally indifferent about it. I do not know whether you will believe me, but I only heard of Goli Otok after it ceased to be what it was. I thought that Cominform-ists were sent to prison like any other political criminals. It is normal that they should go to prison because they constitute the fifth column. I was in favor of them being arrested, but I did not approve of the methods and regime they were subjected to, something I only learned about later.

[Erakovic] Why were there so many Montenegrin party members at Goli Otok?

[Tempo] Many people have asked this question, as well as that of why so many people were killed during the retreat of Montenegrin Chetniks, alleged Chetniks. My brother was among them. Tito did not issue that order. In fact, we fought among ourselves.

[Erakovic] What are your impressions of the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro?

[Tempo] Nothing special. The only question is what will be done later, and whether these young people will be able to last.

Presidency Members Lay Wreath at Tito's Grave
LD1605112589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0746 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—Members of the newly elected SFRY Presidency, led by President Janez Drnovsek, this morning laid flowers at the tomb of Josip Broz Tito.

They wrote the following message in the visitors' book: "Entering office as members of the SFRY Presidency, we are resolved to do everything in our power to establish an understanding among our nations and nationalities which will facilitate their real togetherness on the principles of mutual respect and equality, so that as a democratic country the SFRY might profit to the full extent from its experience in the construction of self-managing socialism."

Document on New Banking System Presented
LD1205174889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)—The new document "The Basic Directions of Reform of Banking System" of the commission for economic reform of the Serbian Socialist Republic Presidency would demand, if implemented, additional constitutional and legal changes regarding the National Bank of Yugoslavia and future of foreign banks in Yugoslavia. The document was presented to journalists today.

The commission adopted a resolute stance—as stressed by its members of Ljubisa Igic and Milos Milosavljevic at the news conference today—that a thorough reform of the banking system can be achieved only if the National Bank of Yugoslavia is a single organization on the entire territory of the country having one governor, who would have full authority and responsibility. [passage omitted]

Another proposal from the document which is not in accordance with the present constitutional and legal regulations concerns foreign capital. The Commission for Reform of the Presidency of the Serbian Socialist Republic again broaches the issue of foreign banks: It advocates a solution according to which foreign banks can be set up in the country or they can invest their capital in domestic banks under the conditions which apply to domestic banks. [passage omitted]

Commentary Assesses Baker's Visit to Moscow
AU1405161789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 14 May 89

[Branislav Canak commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker paid a 2-day visit to Moscow last week. His visit was the reason for the Soviet side to put forward new disarmament initiatives. Here is a commentary by Branislav Canak:

There are two reasons for Baker's first visit to Moscow. First, it was high time to get acquainted with the partners with which the previous administration had concluded major political deals. Second, it was necessary to put an end to the phenomenon of asynchronic thinking about some disarmament, or rather, armaments issues in the ranks of one's own allies.

As for the first reason, it was necessary to dissuade the U.S. public that the idea that George Bush is hesitant in accepting the continuity of negotiations between the superpowers because he does not have anything to offer in the next round of talks is not true. In essence, however, it is correct, because the United States has not yet competently determined how the arms policy will be realized in the near future, nor how much it will cost, let alone how it will be received by its allies.

Disagreements with the FRG about the modernization of tactical nuclear missiles is neither the first nor the last disagreement, nor is, nor will it be with this country alone. Coupled with some unresolved issues at home, this does not offer much room for working out future relations with the other bloc. This is particularly burdened by the fact that a part of this set of problems with Europe is increasingly affected by the aspiration of this continent for greater autonomy in planning its future.

With this latest initiative, the USSR appears in fact to be playing the European card. The USSR's offer to the West of unilaterally eliminating 500 short range missiles is supposed to primarily make an impact on Europeans. These missiles in fact represent only a threat to the security of European countries and this proposal is sufficient to at least initiate a new way of thinking and changes which would have an effect on negotiations concerning other weapons.

Considering that that Mikhail Gorbachev is preparing to visit Bonn soon, it is clear that the latest Soviet offer is an indirect answer to the White House regarding Baker's visit to Moscow and preparations for a parallel agenda for the meetings with the United States' allies.

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